Columbia Sem., Decatur GA.
Conference on China.

1992

Chen Zemin, from mainland China.

The ambiguity of the concept of culture.

"Religion is the context of culture." – Tillich

C.S. Song's ref. to shift of emphasis in 3rd world on this problem. – need for "contextualization"

Chen prefers "enculturation" to "contextualization"

This would stress Biblical idea of "incarnation".

"Contextualization .. or Contextuation" – Max Stackhouse.

M.S. – context is the husk; incarnation stresses the kernel, the text.

"Tao" – better than "word" or "text".

Importance of recognizing change in the context.

The Church in China – is it slow in developing a Chinese theology, adaptable to Chinese culture.

What about the doctrine of "the Cosmic Christ"?

[Does this reconcile with the "incarnate Xt? How?]

Essential problem – how to bring together grass-roots Chinese Xns & the institutional church in China.

Theresa Carino - from Philippines.

little,—hears a little,—reads a little,—reflects a little,—learns a little. But only a little, and that will not carry him very far. He misses half of what goes on around him, and he often misunderstands the other half. He does not penetrate beneath the surface, and he is not even seeing the complete surface. His ambition is too limited. He gets along after a fashion, but he is still a foreigner in China, and the life about him always remains a good bit of a mystery. His problem is to put into his own mind all that he missed by not being born in China, until the country and its people become so familiar to him as they are to a Chinese child; but he is satisfied with a polite smattering, and instead of rounding out into a master missionary, he remains merely an exotic exile.

Nothing but protracted and persevering effort will solve this problem for the missionary; a superficial method and a superficial effort can have only a corresponding result. China is vast and many-sided, and it takes a lot of study and observation. A very able missionary home on furlough after ten years in China was asked to describe the superstitions practiced in his adopted country. "I do not know anything about them," he replied frankly. "It is true that they were practiced all around me all the while I was there, but I was too busy with my work to notice them. I am glad you mentioned it, and it is a reminder to me to look into this important matter when I return to China." He had the right viewpoint. Nothing discouraged by the sudden revelation that for a whole decade he had missed one of the most important factors in Chinese life, he no sooner woke up to the fact than it went down on his docket as one of the first things to engage his attention. He realized that China is a lifetime study, that there is always more to learn, that the successful missionary must be eternally delving and prying, and adding and accumulating. And that is the safeguard against superficiality; namely, the conviction that if well-begun is half-done, yet there still remains the second half to be negotiated;—and it is only the end, after all, that will crown the work.

The Extent of the Degree of Adaptation

The opinions on the extent or the degree of adaptation that is necessary or useful in the mission life may be reduced to two: the one favoring an absolute, and the other a relative adaptation. A brief survey of these opinions and what they imply will be of practical value.

1) *Absolute Adaptation.*

This means just what the name implies; namely, making oneself wholly and entirely a native of the country, so that one becomes a Chinese in China, a Japanese in Japan, an Indian in India. It means a total and complete adaptation of the young missionary to his adopted country in all his relationships; psychological and liberal (the arts); intellectual and temperamental; domestic, social and political. It need not be mentioned that absolute adaptation does not descend to absurdities and recommend a physical adaptation, such as to color the skin yellow in China or black in Africa; but it may stress such a small point as the wearing of a beard, to accommodate oneself to what *used to be* an Eastern preferred custom. It does recommend, for example, that the missionary shall renounce his nationality and take up Chinese citizenship; that he shall live only as the natives and completely renounce all foreign elements in shelter, food, clothing, customs, etiquette, mode of travel, etc.; that he shall conform himself to Chinese ideas, methods, character, mentality, and approach to the affairs of life; to Chinese traditions, literature, art, and architecture. In a word, absolute adaptation aims to be complete and perfect in both the internal and external phases, whilst still remaining practicable.

Absolute adaptation seems correct, feasible and admirable in theory, but in the light of practical application, objective value, and actual experience, it loses some of its glamour and may even present difficulties. A few examples will be worth consideration.

Thus, in the field of political adaptation, the Chinese do not appear to be interested in what citizenship a missionary actually holds, except insofar as they may prefer the citizens of one country to those of another on general principles. But they are vitally interested in the missionary's staying out of the field of politics entirely, whether foreign or domestic; in his dissociating himself from any and all nationalism, and giving his exclusive efforts solely to the glory of God and the salvation of souls (Pius XI, 1926). This is an essential point of adaptation in which the missionary who takes up Chinese citizenship (absolute adaptation) may well fail rather than he who retains his foreign citizenship (relative adaptation). Again, on the one hand, the Chinese may well suspect the motives and the purpose of the missionary who renounces his nationality in favor of Chinese citizenship (absolute adaptation), watch his actions carefully, readily misinterpret them or be antagonized by them.

But on the other hand, they will have no special suspicion of the foreign missionary (relative adaptation) who tends only to his own affairs, and does not go out of his way to antagonize them by flaunting his citizenship before their eyes, or invoking it to obtain all manner of special privileges. Two essential points of *political* adaptation, therefore, appear to be merely relative and not absolute. There will be times when the fact of the missionary's foreign citizenship will be the deciding factor in saving the lives of his Christians and himself; in preserving the mission property from confiscation and destruction; in permitting sschools and dispensaries to be opened and the mission work to go on unmolested, etc.

Other examples of the advantage or disadvantage of the strength or weakness of an absolute *vs.* a relative adaptation cannot be dwelt on in detail, but may be briefly considered. For example, in the line of absolute *domestic* adaptation (shelter, food, clothing, life, and living conditions) we run into what is technically called "going native," and what is universally considered by foreigners abroad, in the light of experience, to result in some breakdown of the fibre of a man. "Going native" in the sense of an absolute adaptation, may well result in taking "something that is fine, and the finer things of life" out of the missionary; for example, in the loss of a *joie de vivre,*— of an *esprit de corps,*—or of a sense of clerical dignity,—or of a peace and satisfaction in maintaining residence,—or of strength of moral fibre. A modicum of the refinements of life in shelter, food, clothing, books, furnishings, pictures, etc., appears almost necessary to a man who has been refined by education, in order that he may maintain himself refined and be able to refine others (relative adaptation).

Again, in the *social* line, absolute adaptation is most difficult, and unless the missionary first puts himself into the hands of an expert mentor, had better not be attempted. The missionary is less apt to fit into the Chinese social field, which is entirely foreign to him, than a social climber at home into a higher grade of society. And if he pretends to an absolute practice of Chinese etiquette, his gaucheries may make him ridiculous, or even be offensive and insulting to others. Not only points of etiquette which may be *de rigueur,* but most of all the fine nuances of etiquette that distinguish *mauvais ton* from polish will inevitably escape the foreign missionary to a greater or less degree. Shakespeare says fools rush in where angels fear to tread; and it should be disconcerting to the foreign missionary to know that Chinese etiquette may be so intricate and involved in some affairs (v.g. banquets) that Chinese priests may attend them with trepidation, fearing to offend on some points of etiquette.

When an army officer tipped the servants of the priest with whom he had supped richly, and the missionary failed to tip the bodyguard of the officer in return, that was a major insult; he had unwittingly repaid regard for his dignity with a snub to the dignity of the officer. Yet even a Peking University graduate and the son of a Mandarin, overlooked the necessity of giving the tip. The missionary was saved possible trouble and revengeful action by the fact that he was following a relative and not an absolute accommodation in matters of etiquette; he was treating the Chinese with all the possible politeness that might be expected from a foreigner, and with no pretensions to the observance of an absolute standard.

On the other hand, a foreign young man, born in China and with its customs inbred in his bones, in disgust quit his job as assistant to a foreign missionary in dealing with the Chinese officials who came to visit a concentration camp of foreigners (after the end of the late hostilities). The missionary pretended to an absolute adaptation to Chinese etiquette; but according to the young man, committed one gross social error after another, so that it was considered a loss of face merely to be associated with him.

In the line of *psychological* adaptation, let us only call attention to the difficulty a man may expect to experience in remaking his foreign temperament, character and viewpoints into those of a completely alien, Oriental type and character. In attempting for example, to imitate Oriental indirectness (pointing to a horse and calling it a deer, as the proverb expresses it), the foreign missionary may readily acquire for himself a reputation of insincerity, double-dealing, and mendacity.

On the point of adaptation in *art and architecture,* the experience is that the Chinese themselves favor not an absolute, but a relative and limited adaptation of Christian art and architecture to the Chinese. They are, for example, positively antagonized by the representation of Christ or the Blessed Virgin Mary with Chinese features; and after all, as they so pertinently remark, both were Jews and not Chinese. A happy wedding may take place, however, between the Eastern and the Western styles (relative adaptation); notable examples of which in the line of art are the works of Father von Genechten of the Scheut Mission in Peking, and in the line of architecture, the Catholic University of Peking.

2) *Relative Adaptation.*

This point has already been covered simultaneously with the treatment of absolute adaptation, but a few practical words may profitably be added from the *Kongmoon Mission Manual.* We read:

> The task of a missioner is to go to the place where he is not wanted to sell a pearl whose value, although of great price, is not recognized, to a people who are determined not to accept it even as a gift. To do this he must so conform to the place as to make himself tolerated at first; then respected; and finally esteemed. Yet his conformity must not be total, for all the time he must conserve that precious foreign elan that will unceasingly nerve his campaign of active propaganda until his people begin to see some value in his offering. He must become Chinese while remaining American, thus conforming and resisting at the same time. It is easy to become wholly Oriental, and it is easier still to remain wholly Occidental. But the adaptation needed by the good missioner is a judicious combination of the two; and that is a feat.
>
> He must absorb a new and fascinating civilization, while eschewing its philosophy; he must adopt new viewpoints, while retaining old ones; he must learn and wield a new language, while clothing in it, not its own shopworn tags, but his own vigorous foreign thoughts. He must absorb not only the language itself, but what lies behind the language; the mentality that made it and is at once expressed and revealed, and at times disguised by it. He must know and adopt many customs that are quite strange to him; other some he must know without adopting. He must doff all sorts of habits and prepossession, and must don many others, so that he finds himself obligated to maintain through life a flexibility of both mind and body that makes of him a perpetual gymnast. In a thousand and one ways, he is denied the privilege of growing old. His teeth may fall out and his hair grow gray; he may look old and feel old. But in all the essentials that make the man, he is condemned to eternal youth; for the Orient will forever demand of him the resiliency of a rubber ball, and only when he is finally punctured shall he be free to stop bouncing.

Difficulties and Obstacles in the Way of Adjustment

There are pitfalls that lie in the way of the young missionary in the process of making an easy, gradual and natural adaptation to the mission field. It will be practical and helpful to take a glance at some of them, so as not to be caught in their snares.

Chinese Leisureliness and Procrastination

Perhaps the first, and for an American possibly the hardest, somersault is to reassess the value of time. The Chinese face the

dawn generally with little on their minds save a mild curiosity as to what the day will bring forth. The idea of a gift of twenty-four hours in which to accomplish some or many things seldom rises to plague them. Here is one secret of Oriental patience. Once eliminate time, and patience comes more easily. But the foreign character has been developed in the home traditions that time means money, and trained in the school of "work-hours," "work efficiency," and "work output." Hence his patience is sorely tried and his serenity easily upset by the leisureliness, dawdling, and procrastination of the East. "Hou-lae dsae schuo"—We'll talk about it tomorrow! As soon as you put a busy American into the topsy-turvy Orient, the problem is staged; for he may not only refuse personally to slip into the tempo of his easy-going surroundings, but may stage a one-man fight to bring all the natives of the country out of it.

A matter that is maddening to the foreigner is the Chinese habit of delaying to come to the point. But it is not good manners to mention straightaway the real object of the call. That must be postponed until various polite nothings and all sorts of vague generalities have well paved the way, and the missionary must simply sit and pretend to be interested until such a time as his callers choose to disclose the business that brought them.

Travel, however, may be as great a time-waster as visitors, and an even greater strain on patience. Boats and trains are seldom on time; often have no set time to be on. Waiting for hours at wharves, garages and railway stations, often in burning sun or pelting rain, is occasion for heavenly patience and merit. If he also serves who only stands and waits, the missioner is not altogether an unprofitable servant, since he spends a good part of his life in that pastime; and to cartoon him unmistakably, a picture of a man left standing at the post would most classically fill the bill.

The Angularities of Language.

The process of adjustment to the Chinese language that is necessary to the young missionary will be a lifelong one, and beset with many thorny difficulties. The language is a tightrope on which the missionary is doing an endless dance in an effort to maintain his proper balance; a balance between pure literary, ordinary conversational, and local dialectic or idiomatic Chinese;—between the varied appearance of printed, penned and shorthand (straw) characters that he will be called upon to decipher rather than to read;—

lay adherents. Many of these pairings were forced. In the words of a Buddhist monk writing in the early fifth century, "At the end of the Han and the beginning of the Wei . . . worthies who sought the essence of Buddhist ideas had, for the first time, fixed lecturing places. They inflated their lectures with *ko-i* and distorted them with paired explanations."[12]

Still another means of adapting and explaining Buddhism to the Chinese was apologetic writing. In such writing generally there was a defense of the alien system which not only extolled its merits but also pointed to ways in which it was either consonant with certain indigenous ideas and values or complementary to them. An apologetic has a special value for the study of the interaction of two traditions because the points at which defense is felt to be necessary are invariably the points of greatest conflict between the two systems of ideas. The earliest apologetic which has come down to us was written at the end of the second century by a Chinese scholar-official who had fled to Chiao-chou (in modern Tongking) to escape the social and political upheavals in his native province. His volume is a kind of cyclopedia of the points at which Buddhism had to be reconciled with or adapted to Chinese tradition. In question-answer form he considers the claims of an alien tradition versus the claims of a native tradition, familism versus monasticism, Sinocentrism versus Indocentrism, the ritual and behavioral pre-

[12] Cf. T'ang Yung-t'ung, "On 'Ko-yi,' the Earliest Method by which Indian Buddhism and Chinese Thought were Synthesized," *Radhakrishnan: Comparative Studies in Philosophy Presented in Honor of His Sixtieth Birthday* (New York, 1950), pp. 276–86. My translation from the *Yü-i lun* of Hui-jui (352–436) in *Taishō Daizōkyō*, LV, p. 41b, differs slightly from Professor T'ang's.

CONTEXTUALIZATION (Buddhist)

scriptions of the Chinese classics versus those of the Buddhist canon, Chinese prudential economics versus Buddhist generosity, and Chinese conceptions of finite human existence versus Buddhist ideas of transmigration. The apologist in his defense of Buddhism is supple and adroit; he reaches into the varied texts of both Confucianism and Taoism to find passages which appear to sanction a Buddhist belief or practice. At last his questioner taxes him:

> "You, sir, say that the Buddhist scriptures are like the Yangtze and the Ocean, their style like brocade and embroidery. Why do you not draw on them to answer my questions? Why instead do you quote the *Classic of Poetry* and the *Classic of History*, bringing together things that are different to make them appear the same?"

The apologist replies:

> "I knew that you were familiar with the ideas of the Chinese Classics, and for this reason I quoted from them. If I had spoken in the words of the Buddhist scriptures or discoursed on the essence of inaction [philosophic Taoism], it would have been like speaking of the five colors to a blind man or playing the five sounds to one who is deaf."[13]

This process of explaining the unknown in terms of the known was universal in this period of preparation. It would be mistaken to attribute to these scattered apologists, missionaries, and native propagators of the faith anything like a

[13] The text of the *Li-huo-lun* here translated is found in *Taishō*, LII, 5. Cf. the translation by Paul Pelliot in "Meou-tseu, ou Les Doutes levés," *T'oung-pao*, XIX (1920). The passage also appears in the draft of chap. 15 of *Sources of the Chinese Tradition*.

Henry W. Rietz
4 March 1990
EC41: Prof. Moffett

Book Report:
Confucius, The Buddha, And Christ:
A History of the Gospel in Chinese
by Ralph R. Covell:
pp. xi-19, 122-132, 150-253.

The central issue of Ralph R. Covell's book, Confucius, The Buddha, and Christ: A History of the Gospel in Chinese is why Christianity and the gospel of Christ has been generally viewed as "foreign" in China. Covell explains that although "the gospel message has been in China for nearly fourteen hundred years. . . the Christian message in China has been viewed as "foreign"--the "religion from across the seas." When a Chinese embraced the faith, unbelievers sarcastically remarked, "one more Christian, one less Chinese"" (p. xiii). The description of this problem in China is the focus of the book.

Covell's study of the problem of the "foreignness" of Christianity in China is historically structured. He begins with the Nestorians and the Jesuits (chapters that I have not yet read) and chronologically traces the various moments that have attempted to convey the Christian gospel in China. Covell brings the reader up to the present (the book was copy written in 1986) by discussing the Christian churches under the communist rule. In the interning chapters, Covell describes the struggles that Christians have had trying to be socially relevant, but persecuted when they threatened the political establishment. Throughout the book, Covell consistently provides a broad overview of the historical and political situation of the particular period that he is dealing with in any given chapter. However, within that overarching framework, Covell provides sketches of specific people and individual movements and their attempts at indigenizing the Christian gospel. Thus, one is able to see not only the macroscopic issues but also the microscopic, and often haphazard, elements that shaped the indigenization process.

In chapter 8, Covell examines Taiping Christianity, "the first really indigenous effort to proclaim the gospel in Chinese" (p. 151). This movement was begun by a vision that Hong Xiuquan had following a nervous breakdown. Hong later understood his vision to be explained by Christian tracts and embarked on a mission to "exterminate idols in all the land and lead the Chinese masses to believe in Jesus" (p. 152). Hong's message was often divergent from traditional orthodoxy (whatever that means) and incorporated elements of Chinese traditions to such an extent that debate

You should know at least one "traditional orthodoxy" well enough to keep you from too uncritical an excursion into the latest fad-ridden fad.

rages as to whether "the Christian component [of Taiping Christianity is] more dominant than the Confucian element" (p. 174).

In chapter 9, Covell describes other attempts at indigenization during 1860-1949. He examines the "Gospel of Confucian Activism" as proposed by various people. Overarching the positions that fall under this label is the emphasis on ethics. Covell characterizes their failure as being "rooted in the lack. . . of a detailed program that could be labeled "uniquely Christian." None of the four men [whom Covell examines] who sought to put the gospel into Chinese during this period started with a specifically Christian position. Rather they opted for this or that social philosophy and then sought to christianize it" (p. 195). Covell also examines "The Gospel of Daoist Mysticism" the proponents of which Covell describes as "not overtly adjust[ing] themselves to the Daoist spirit, but, in essence, they advocated this path--the gospel of subjectives, intuition, and individual, personal quietism" (p. 195). However, Covell criticizes this privatization as failing to address the social and political problems which characterized its period in Chinese history.

In chapters 10 and 11, Covell examines the gospel in modern China. He describes the efforts, often of outsiders, to adapt Christianity to China. For example, he presents the use of pictograms in evangelism. He also discusses attempts at Chinese theologies. Jung Young Lee proposes the use of yin-yang as opposed to Aristotelian "either/or" as a pattern of thinking in theology. Covell also describes how the Christian churches have shed much of the label "foreign" by becoming truly "self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating" (p. 238).

Confucius, The Buddha, And Christ seems to be an excellent historical introduction to the Christian gospel in China. As the lectures in EC41, the book demonstrates to the reader the (often overlooked) length of history of Christianity in China. I was particularly fascinated by Covell's analysis of the interaction between the traditional religions and cultures. Personally I was a Religious Studies and I am interested in encountering other religions. Therefore I was interested and pleased that Covell presented the history of the Christian gospel in China as a history of the gospel's encountering of other religions and cultures. Moreover, the material is presented in practical, real-world situations as opposed to many of the the books that I've read about inter-faith dialogue which often portray the encounters in a detached, idealistic academic fashion. Finally, Covell's book has spurred me to think further about the indigenization the gospel to individual's. I've often looked at society phenomena as being macrocosms of phenomena that occur within individuals. Specifically, when a person becomes a Christian, I believe that a process of indigenization occurs in which the individual has to reject aspects of their past and to incorporate other aspects into their Christian faith. This parallels the history of Christianity in China.

Very good

Rex Hamilton
EC41
Professor Moffett
March 7, 1990

Rich Christians in an Age of Hunger.
Ronald J. Sider
IVP, Downers Grove, 1984

In a time when world social consciousness is being espoused from nearly every lectern, primarily by those whose theological orientation is perhaps to the "left" of orthodoxy, it is encouraging to read a book whose author is both committed to that consciousness, and to evangelical Christianity. Briefly summarized, Sider addresses the problem of world hunger and the response of the people of God. He divides the work into three sections. The first, ("Poor Lazarus & Rich Christians"), presents the problem by proposing definition to concepts such as "poverty", "affluency", and expounds the current state of affairs in the world economic scene. The second part, ("A Biblical Perspective in the Poor & Possessions"), is the heart of the book. Here Sider gives a brief analysis of the Biblical teachings regarding specific economic issues--both from the Old and New Testaments. He also includes here an analysis of structural evil and its relationship to world hunger. Part three, ("Implementation"), concludes the work by proposing suggested methods of engaging the problems exposed in the first two parts--both on the personal and corporate levels.

Sider's presentation of the problem is convincing. I was struck as I read, of the profound implications of his argument. To acknowledge the stark division between the world's rich minority, and its poor majority, requires some sort of response. He uses a number of statistics and graphs to support his claims. I suspect these would annoy certain readers, as we all tend to want to dismiss this type of support as questionable. In addition, he uses a number of stories, that are intended to draw the reader to feel pain or compassion. Again I know this annoys a number of people who see this sort of thing as emotional propaganda. My first response tended toward this attitude, but after finishing the first part, I had to honestly say that even without the statistics and stories, I am still rich, and others are still starving. Working off of this convicting section, Sider then goes into an effective exposition of the Biblical text. But while I liked it, I thought it was often over-generalized and simplified. For example, in the section entitled "Is God a Marxist?" (pp. 64ff.), Sider presents the Magnificat, along with some selected passages from Samual, James, the Psalms, and Jeremiah, but with little real examination of how these sections deal with the complex issues of philosophical/economic development. I do

understand that this book is written to the general audience and not to the specialist, but perhaps Sider does not give the reader enough credit for being able understand the complex issues presented. I also appreciated Sider's suggestions for implementation. But here as well, I was left wondering how affective these suggestions are in support of the rest of the book.

In rapid conclusion, I felt that Sider opened the question very successfully, but I am not sure how well he closed it. Perhaps that is the point. The question is not closed. Especially in relation to the question of "missions". How does the Christian approach the proclamation of the Word of life in a culture that is struggling for its own physical life? And, how does the affluent, western Christian deal with the baggage that his or her very identity carries into the mission field? I know it was not Sider's purpose to answer these questions. I also know that he was very effective in convincing me that I am in need of repentance and re-examination of my own life style. The book convicted me--that is refreshing. But it also left me wanting more. More work needs to be done in the areas Sider begins to address. If it causes people like me to pursue the issue further, then perhaps Sider has been successful.

It is sometimes difficult to hear a prophetic voice today--or more appropriately--difficult to listen to one. This book is one such voice that needs to be listened to attentively.

Very good

Roberto de Nobili, Adaptation and the Reasonable Interpretation of Religion

FRANCIS X. CLOONEY, SJ

The study of mission history introduces us to men and women whose views of Christianity and culture only partially coincide with our own, and we learn much from the differences as well as the similarities. Roberto de Nobili, SJ, a missionary in South India in the first half of the seventeenth century, is a good example: his immersion in Indian culture and his views on the necessary adaptation of the Christian message in new environments anticipated by centuries the methods and arguments of modern inculturation theory. Yet, as will be shown, his belief in the universality of reason is premodern, and is the feature of his thought that most clearly divides him from most modern missionaries and modern scholars of religion.

Roberto de Nobili (1577-1656) was an Italian Jesuit who lived in Madurai in southern India for almost 40 years (1606-1644).[1] Soon after arriving he discovered that although Fr. Goncalo Fernandez, the Portuguese missionary he was sent to assist, lived an exemplary and simple lifestyle, he remained so European as to be considered unclean and alien by the local Hindus. Despite his best efforts, his preaching had done little more than advertise what appeared to be an unclean religion; in eleven years in Madurai he had made no converts (Cronin 1959:39).

Early on, de Nobili began to experiment with his lifestyle, seeking to present himself through "Hindu" concepts and expectations, and thereby to render his presence and his message, first, non-offensive and, then, intelligible in the local environment: he presented himself first as a nobleman from

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the West, of the second or *kṣatriya* caste (*varṇa*), and then as a renunciant (*saṁnyāsin*); he observed caste rules and gradually distanced himself from Fr. Fernandez and other older missionaries of South India—as well as from their low-caste converts on the coast; he mastered Tamil, the local language, and developed a Tamil writing style far surpassing the minimal requirements of the colloquial; he learned Sanskrit, Hinduism's classical language, and was probably the first European to be fluent in it; he became familiar with a wide range of popular and technical religious ideas, with popular myths, the legal codes of Manu, etc., and the literature of sectarian Hinduism, i.e., of the Vaiṣṇava and particularly the Śaiva communities.

Legitimately, de Nobili is a hero for those in the Christian churches who want to divest the Christian gospel of an overly European appearance, and so to deepen its roots in the non-European societies where it is present. He was remarkably courageous, sensitive, and foresighted in his understanding of his religion and its relationship to his own and other cultures. But de Nobili was by no means a "modern" man; he was not a historian of religion, nor an anthropologist, nor a modern ecumenist. While he set no limits to his adaptation to the "externals" of Indian society, he also conceded no ground on the content of his Catholic faith. His major Tamil works confirm that he was an orthodox Roman Catholic thinker of the counter-Reformation, defending a Catholic faith which was God's "flawless revelation" and relentlessly attacking Hindu concepts and theories of the divine, ranging from *avatāra* ("divine descent") to *karma* ("rebirth") to the Vaiṣṇava and Saivite heavens, *vaikuṇṭha* and *kailāśa*.[2]

Conversely, one searches in vain for any *positive* comments about Hindu religious texts, doctrines of the divine, ritual practices, etc. De Nobili never tells us directly what, if anything, he had learned about religion from these people in the 40 years he lived among them. Although we might not have expected loud praises of Hinduism, it nevertheless strikes one as odd that we cannot discover any explicit, positive appreciation of Hindu religiosity per se.[3]

It is the purpose of this essay to explain why de Nobili drew the line where he did, why he apparently excluded intellectual and spiritual adaptation to Hinduism, and how he distinguished between external and internal adaptation. But let us first be more precise about the question at issue. I am not interested in proving that he was by current standards a conservative Christian missionary committed to making converts; that is clear from the start. Nor do I wish to suggest that de Nobili had no way to appreciate the difference between interior and exterior adaptation although, as Foucault (1973) has shown us, people in the seventeenth century had a sense of the distinction between "appearance" and "reality" quite different from ours today.

My concern, rather, is to explain how de Nobili, though like us in many ways, differs in important ways. "External transformation" was for de Nobili a matter of the highest significance, while most of us today believe that to dress and eat in a certain way or even to learn a new language is not sufficient

to make one a part of a new culture—if at the same time one holds stubbornly to traditional ideas that are alien to that culture. From our position, de Nobili's adaptation may appear literally superficial, skin-deep, even a kind of disguise in which he sought to win over his audience. We must ask if he achieved a more profound adaptation, even if by a standard appropriate to his age and not ours—if what appears to us as an uneasy juxtaposition of internal rigidity and external compromise was for him a coherent, reasonable position. And if this is so, as I believe it is, we must then discover what this tells us about ourselves and missionary work today.

That de Nobili does not say anything about "Hinduism" and "Indian religion" must not become the central issue here. De Nobili lived before the vocabulary of "religions" and "cultures" developed in Europe, before authors like Voltaire and Montesquieu began to sort out and to organize into discourses on various "peoples" the vast amounts of information about the wider world which had begun flooding Europe. Schwab (1984) and Halbfass (1988) have brilliantly demonstrated the monumental shifts in Europe's self-awareness that occurred *after* de Nobili's time. His Europe for the most part still accepted unproblematically the biblical story of the world's cohesion, a basic distinction between God's people and "the Gentiles," etc.

De Nobili's works do not yield direct statements about "Hinduism," nor about the "religion" of the people of Madurai; the data we group under those names are distributed otherwise in his works. Thus, in the *Tūṣaṇa Tikkāram* of 1641, there is no section on "Hindu temple worship," but there is a discussion of temple images—during a defense of the Catholic cult of the saints (see chs. 13-18).[4] Or de Nobili's mixed opinion of Śaivism can be determined only indirectly, from the (positive) way in which he uses a concept such as "guru" (Clooney 1988) and the way he mocks the myths of Śiva. De Nobili did not make direct comparisons of the Hindu and Christian religions, because he had not objectified either his faith or his Indian experience in terms of "religions." Rather, as we shall see, his ideas make best sense if we organize them according to divisions appropriate to his times—e.g., "reason," "society organized according to reason," or the "pedagogical intervention of God in human history."

De Nobili's difference from his Hindu and European contemporaries and from ourselves lies in a particular configuration of three important presuppositions he begins with: (1) there are many classical societies in the world, which are neutral with respect to the true religion; (2) the purpose of the Incarnation, God's appearance in human flesh, is exemplary, to teach humans how to live rightly in their societies; and (3) reason guides both divine and human activity. As I will suggest, it is really the third of these that distinguishes him from us: we lack his confidence in reason—and its linguistic expressions—and hence shape our understanding of cultures and religions differently.

1. De Nobili's idea of a "classical society" [5]

A good son of the Renaissance, this noble Italian looked back to classical

Rome as the paradigm of a human society fully "natural" and fully open to becoming "Christian." Ancient Rome had achieved the right combination of art, reason, and power, and was the best society known to the Western tradition, the standard by which even Christians were to judge human potential prior to the intervention of grace. The conversion of Rome in the time of Constantine showed not only the adaptability and universality of the new religion, but also the basic rectitude of Roman society. Its natural perfection made it ready to be lifted by God into supernatural perfection. What happened to Rome was a model for what should and could happen everywhere.

De Nobili went beyond this traditional praise of the classical by proposing that places such as India and China also had classical societies which could appropriately receive the Christian gospel while remaining intact and whole. He saw in South India a fundamentally sound arrangement of a population, a rational division of labor in the caste system,[6] a right appropriation of political power by certain royal families, and in general a high level of art, music, and literature—all well-defended by Brahmin teachings. All in all, he boldly suggested that this society compared favorably with modern Europe and ancient Rome.

In *Adaptation* (composed in 1619 in defense of his missionary methods), de Nobili identified four propositions which guided his adjustment to the customs of India, supporting each with examples from the adaptation that took place in the first Christian centuries: (1) "The evangelical preacher is to take up that manner of life which will cause his hearers to judge him worthy of being listened to" (1.1). This is illustrated by St. Paul, who behaved as a Jew among Jews and as a Gentile among Gentiles (1.1.2.3); when he preached in Athens he did not attack the Athenian gods but introduced his Christian God as if He were one of them, the "unknown one" (1.1.3.6). (2) "No practice, or custom, or habit, which in itself contains no sin, has ever been disapproved or condemned by the church, even though it were current among the gentiles as well, to whom in fact it owed its origin" (1.2). For example, following local custom, Christians performed frequent ablutions, veiled their wives, and exchanged rings at their weddings, even though each custom had a religious meaning for pagans (1.2). (3) "Innumerable are the customs in honor among the blind ancient gentile nations, and the emblems or insignia invented by them, which no doubt fulfilled some social purpose, but were none the less mixed with various superstitious elements and other damnable ends, which customs and insignia, however, Christianity adopted for the sake of the social end they had in view, (making them) honorable by simply changing their purpose" (1.3). An example of this is the Greek/Egyptian festival which focused on lamplighting in honor of the fire god which was brought into the church as a vigil celebration of the Ascension of Christ (1.3.1). (4) "There were several rites and customs among the gentiles whose purpose was in no way social, but purely religious; yet the church did not forbid them, and made scarcely any, or no change, except that she gave them a new religious purpose" (1.4). Pagan children used to tie on their clothing

little knobs to ward off demons; the early church replaced these with knobs made with the wax of altar candles, with the image of the "Lamb of God" imprinted in them (1.4.5).

In his other Latin treatise, *Indian Customs* (the *Informatio* of 1613), he adheres to a traditional Catholic ethical position in justifying his "baptism" of Indian customs: actions by their own nature have an inherently valid, legitimate purpose, even if invalid and superstitious beliefs are imposed on them by some; they are to be judged by their inherent ends, not by additional or alternative motivations humans have in undertaking them (10.9). According to this rule, only what is strictly and solely idolatrous, such as a specific symbol of a god, must be rejected. All else may be preserved, if the underlying innate purpose of the actions is retrieved (10.6).

The parallelism between Rome and India set the tone for all of de Nobili's work. In South India, society was truly classical; it was fundamentally sound and inherently compatible with Christianity, neither the work of the devil nor a savage state to be civilized on a European model. If the ancient Romans were allowed to dress as they had prior to their conversion, keeping old symbols of status, etc., converts in India should likewise be allowed to maintain their signs of status, the Brahmin thread (even if some people thought it superstitious), certain names (even if they had Hindu religious meanings), etc. The conversion of India did not entail the triumph of Europe any more than the conversion of Rome had made it Semitic.

This was not an accommodation to Hindu religiosity per se; elements of Indian society were to be defended and preserved precisely because they were *not* inherently "Hindu." To purify oneself, to use images, to arrange society according to functions—these are things that humans rightly do, everywhere. People add intentions of all sorts to motivate their actions, and these constitute "religions"; but only in Christianity, says de Nobili, are those added intentions fully appropriate to the prior natural/societal level. Were he to use the word, "Hinduism" would mean that set of accretions mistakenly imposed on the naturally good. What, then, is Christianity? To answer this question, we must understand de Nobili's view of the purpose of the Incarnation, the extraordinary involvement of God in the natural order.

2. The exemplary function of the Incarnation [7]

The *Tūṣaṇa Tikkāram* (*The Refutation of Calumnies,* 1641) is de Nobili's major apologetic work, modeled on Thomas Aquinas's masterpiece of apologetics, the *Summa contra Gentiles.* Its 32 chapters can be divided according to five major themes: (1) Christianity is the one true religion for all people of all nations and castes, and yet is compatible with the order of Indian society as it is (chs. 1-5); (2) the Incarnation is God's purposeful intervention in the world to teach humans the right path; unlike *avatāra,* it has a clear rational purpose (chs. 6-12); (3) the Christian use of images is meaningful, unlike the pagan worship of idols (chs. 13-18) (4) the current difficulties of the Christian community—poverty, persecution—do not indicate divine disfavor (chs. 19-28); and (5) the ideals and methods of missionary

work are fundamentally an imitation of Christ (chs. 29-32). Throughout the work, de Nobili's chief concern is with the way in which Christianity *appears* in Indian society, because the Incarnation itself is about appearance and presentation, teaching people to "see" differently.

De Nobili (1964:8.6) reasons as follows: Human nature is fallen, afflicted by that disordered desire for bodily pleasure, worldly pride, and power which leads to spiritual blindness. Humans are unable to recognize their own place of dignity vis-à-vis the objects around them, and mistakenly enslave themselves to those objects. Blinded, they remain unaware of the real problem and, therefore, of its solution. This sinful state is like a disease, and God responds like a divine physician. God examines the human patient, notes the disease and its causes, and determines that the remedy requires someone to illustrate perfectly the right way to live in the world. To offer this, God decides to come into the world (1964:8.5) to show two forms of the cure for the disease of desire: for those who can, total renunciation like that of Jesus is best; but if one cannot, there is the moderation of desire and life governed by reason, as it would have been before original sin (1964:8.7).

These paths of radical and moderate renunciation can be perfectly illustrated, because the divine *physician* becomes the divine *teacher* on earth, illustrating in word and deed how humans are to live. Christ is a renunciant, poor, chaste, and obedient to his Father (1964:11.16); his ministry is a divine pedagogy; everything he does offers a model for the good life, the escape from desire and approach to salvation.

This view of the Incarnation gives de Nobili his rationale for what the teacher/missionary is supposed to do. A good teacher speaks in terms his or her students can understand; since people in general can see and hear only what is familiar to them from their ordinary experience, the teacher has to illustrate truths by examples from the local context. Because these local contexts—what I have loosely called "societies"—exist only as discrete, separate settings, God had to enter and reveal himself first in one of these, in some specific set of temporally conditioned words, images, and ideas appropriate to that setting; the divine teaching could not be universal "all at once." So God became a Jew 1600 years before de Nobili's time, expressed himself perfectly in that setting, and then chose to leave the rest of the task, the re-expressions in every other society, to his church.

In theory at least, this perspective deprives Christianity's Jewish background of any essentially privileged position: God could just as well have chosen another society to begin with, another set of experiences. De Nobili even more clearly, thereby, undercut European Christianity's notion of its privileged superiority: Europe was no more superior to India than wearing trousers and shoes is more Christian than wearing a *dhoti.* Christianity became European because some human beings were European and needed to be taught in a European fashion. The salvific power of Christianity lies not in some society's inherent perfection, but in the way the divine teaching reshapes the society in accord with its true nature, so that humans can reach salvation through available this-worldly realities (rituals, symbols, etc.).

The Incarnation requires that the church imitate its divine teacher by a series of creative, imitative acts—transpositions of the gospel from one society to the next, to a third, etc., with the necessary translations of the original vocabulary to new frameworks and into corresponding terms. For instance, the Hebrew Messiah had to be re-presented first as the Greek Logos, then as the Roman Imperator, then the medieval Lord and in India through some such image as that of the "divine guru"—if his teaching was to be meaningful to Madurai Śaivite Brahmins.

At the end of the *Tūṣaṇa Tikkāram,* de Nobili appeals to missionaries to employ the same values and methods that motivated the Incarnation, particularly through careful teaching geared to the level of various audiences, the mastery of local languages, and, of course, the living of exemplary and desireless lives (1964:29.4; 32.21). The missionary, in effect, repeats the Incarnation; the history of the spread of Christianity is for de Nobili nothing but the history of this serial reclothing of the original self-manifestation of God in various human societies. The missionary reclothes himself or herself in the clothing, language, and concepts of a new society, in order that various peoples might learn in their own terms God's message regarding how one is to live rightly, freed from irrational desire. To live like a renunciant was for de Nobili simply his imitation of the Incarnation, not "Hinduization." It was profound, in the way the Incarnation was profound; it was external, but not superficial, because one's essential nature—divine or human—is expressed and becomes consciously apprehensible in one's appearance, one's self-presentation to others.

3. De Nobili's view of the rule of reason in natural and supernatural matters

As already stated, de Nobili composed numerous works seeking to refute the larger and smaller point of Indian religious thought. He argued against notions such as *karma,* Hindu ideas of heaven, the afterlife, and modes of union with the divine,[8] etc. He set forth at length an Aristotelian/Thomistic notion of the soul and soul-body relation, and on that basis argued for the superior plausibility of various Christian beliefs. He argued surely and confidently against the local Brahmins, just as his counterparts back in Europe argued vehemently against Lutherans and Calvinists. In important aspects, indeed, his argument with Hinduism was precisely the one which his Jesuit comrades back in Europe might have hurled at Protestantism. This had to be so, de Nobili would say, because both attacks relied on reason, and reason is universal, and, at the most profound level, perfectly consonant only with Roman Catholic Christianity.

Reason is the rule by which each human action and life and society is properly organized. Societies differ in detail, but reason keeps that detail organized in the most appropriate and natural fashion, for the benefit of the individuals within society. A society is classical and likely to endure precisely to the extent that it is organized on rational principles. This confidence in the universality of reason was accompanied, moreover, by confidence in the

clarity and unambiguity of language; simple ignorance of languages, and not the stubborn problem of whether Christian ideas can really be translated, is the major stumbling block to preaching.

Reason is the primary medicine used in "curing" sinful human experience and reopening it to the divine. Citing a distinction made centuries earlier by Aquinas in the *Summa contra Gentiles* (1975:I.3.2-3), de Nobili suggested that while the mysteries of God's grace are not merely rational and are never merely the property of reason, they never contradict reason and never violate what we know by other means (1964:5.3-4). God will never speak or act in a way that contradicts reason (1964:5.8ff.)—while other gods constantly speak and act in contradictory ways. The proper use of rational argument renders humans *docile* (in the old sense), freed from ignorance and error, and ready to receive the higher divine mysteries—and thus effectively ready to become Christian. It also provides a reliable critique of beliefs that are irrational and therefore incompatible with true religion. By appropriating the truths accessible to reason, humans remove obstacles which prevent them from being ready to accept the higher truths of Christianity; a truly reasonable person can have no objection to Christianity.

The translation of Christian ideas into Indian languages was unproblematic, since reason and its structures do not change from language to language. Translation requires only the ascertainment of the correspondence, from one language to another, of key words and ideas. In essence, it is another version of the clothing problem: just as one replaces trousers with a *dhoti,* a black cassock with a *saṁnyāsin's* robe, the word "Bible" gives way to the "Veda," "Messiah" to "*divya guru,*" and "salvation" to "reaching the farther shore," etc.

For de Nobili the higher truths of revelation conform to reason, and there was no intelligible place for something called "Hinduism"; there is no reason for a distinctive name. He would not therefore have understood the charge that he was attacking Indian society, ideas, and beliefs, as if these were somehow qualitatively different from Christian beliefs. Because reason is fundamentally human, he did not see himself speaking as a European. Argument had nothing to do with the superiority of Europe over India, nor of "Christianity" over "Hinduism." Rather, he sought simply to clarify and reorganize Indian experience, restoring it to its natural order and readiness for the divine. His goal was to make a classical society more truly its classical self. To attack beliefs such as the notion that gods occasionally descend into the world, or that humans are repeatedly reborn, is only to attack irrational and superstitious accretions which have obscured and eroded the true nature of Indian society.[9]

Conclusion

De Nobili's three presuppositions—the possiblity of classical societies, the "educational" purpose of the Incarnation, and the universality of reason—combine to explain what I initially termed his "odd" combination of external adaptation (the effort to "shift from one society to another" for

the sake of communication) and internal rigidity (his adherence to universal reason and Catholic doctrine). I would like to conclude by drawing two further implications.

First, de Nobili's lack of a vocabulary of "religions," "Hinduism," "Christianity," etc., can be stated positively by saying that he believed that God's salvific revelation is adaptable to all societies, whatever their distinguishing, specifying elements, their constructions of nature and reason. Thus, "religion," "true" or otherwise, is not a component within each in a series of particular cultural contexts; rather, it is the dynamic intersection of *revelation* with a series of societies marked by particular configurations of nature and reason (but also marring superstitions, errors, etc.). Revelation confirms the right ordering insofar as it already exists, and effects that order when it has been lost. Religion "happens" whenever a society truly encounters God's revelation.

If the information grouped today under the name "Hinduism" remains dispersed in de Nobili's texts, then modern scholars need to seek it out with great imagination. What we might describe as "Hindu" or "Śaivite" or "Vaiṣṇava" religion or ritual was otherwise organized by de Nobili, into categories such as "classical society," "natural openness to God," "readiness for God," "reason and the lack of reason in a society," to which are added various misreadings of the data of rationality.

To understand de Nobili, and other "pre-modern" missionaries like him, we have to transpose our questions and terms of analysis back into equivalents appropriate to their discourses. If we do this, we will begin to locate new perspectives from which to read their works. Perhaps, for instance, de Nobili's insistence on the existence of classical societies other than those of Greece and Rome was the only way acceptable to himself and his superiors where by he could distance himself from his Italian Roman Catholicism: for it was no little thing, no moderate gesture, to suggest that there were admirable non-European cultures, as equally suited as his own to the full embodiment of Christian values! Or perhaps he presented Christ as the divine guru because like his Indian neighbors he too began to find distasteful the emphasis of Counter-Reformation Rome on the sacrifice of the cross and the redemptive blood of Christ. Examples like these might be multiplied, and they all require close scrutiny before being accepted. But more important is the basic point: some of the most traditional, and most radical, elements of a pre-modern missionary's thinking may elude us until we recover our sense of the boundaries in which they could be traditional or radical.

Second, recognition of these three presuppositions enables us to locate more exactly where de Nobili differs from the representatives of later encounters of India and the West, and from ourselves, the "latter day" missionaries and students of Hinduism and Indian culture. His idea of "society" is on the whole compatible with modern ideas, even if by no means identical with current views of "culture." The idea that the world is a set of rationally ordered societies may be debated, but probably requires less translation than a portrayal of the world as a battleground between "light"

and "dark," God and the devil, etc.

His notion of the Incarnation incorporates a perspective on the uniqueness of Christ that is unlikely to satisfy entirely the modern theologian and exegete. Nevertheless, for believers and unbelievers alike it may be a more sophisticated model than many older and newer theories of what Christianity is supposed to be all about. His view that the Incarnation is an exemplary event never to be confused with any particular expression of it goes a long way toward separating "mission"—God's mission, the missionary's mission—from notions of religious superiority. Indeed, his idea *requires* transposition and translation of faith from culture to culture, and offers a radical critique of the notion that Christianity is supposed to be or to look like something we have already encountered.

It is de Nobili's notion of reason, along with the accompanying notion that translation is not problematic, that most sharply divides him from us. We are acutely aware today of the variety of ways in which humans think and speak, the ways in which their worldviews and languages pre-structure their experiences; we are not sure that all people are reasonable in the same way, or even that "rationality," as the West has conceived of it, is universal. Even those who wish to argue that there are certain structures of reason common to all humans do not necessarily believe that these can be expressed in some universally acceptable vocabulary.

The modern age has called into question the possibility of argument across cultural boundaries, particularly regarding values and religious beliefs. Indeed, one (perhaps) unintended function of the word "religion" today is to put cultural beliefs and values into a form which *protects* them from comparison across cultural lines. De Nobili was obviously of a different mind: notwithstanding his respect for what we call cultures and his reverence for God's mysterious grace, he was confident of the viability of argument, debate, and persuasion; he presumed that reason and the rules of the expression of reason are everywhere the same. He could be a missionary for two reasons: because God's intervention in the world is always in harmony with reason, and because there are no geographical boundaries to reason. He could understand God's message, and he believed that everyone else could understand it too, if and when it is properly taught.

An interesting implication of this is that today's argument between the groups one might looscly categorize as "the historians of religion" and the "missionaries" is not necessarily a debate over religion itself, the truth or universality of this or that faith, etc. To a large extent the debate is among fellow "moderns" over the possibility of transcending one's historical and cultural rootedness in a particular tradition of thinking and speaking. Oddly enough, some of the historians are seeking to recover basic "rules" governing all religious experience, while some of the missionaries are seeking to posit some basis other than words and reason—e.g., "love," or "personal relationship with God," or "justice"—to make universal proclamation possible again.

When we see this missionary who dressed like a Hindu renunciant and argued like a Jesuit apologist, he puzzles us. But surely the reverse is also

true: de Nobili would not be able to understand how we can take religion so seriously and learn so much about other cultures—and yet, in the end, have so little to argue about, so little of which to convince one another.

Notes

1. The basic story of de Nobili's life has been told a number of times. Cronin (1959) is an accurate and highly readable introductory account. S. Rajamanickam, SJ, (1972) who has edited many of de Nobili's Latin and Tamil works, offers a useful compendium of information on de Nobili's life and works in *The First Oriental Scholar:*

2. We will see below aspects of his attack on the *avatāra* theory. He devotes a small volume, the *Punarjenmākṣēpam (The Critique of Rebirth*), to a refutation of *karma.* In his large treatise on the soul, the *Ātumanirnayam,* he attacks *karma* (chs. 15-22) and various Hindu notions of heaven and the final liberated state (chs. 23-27).

3. This claim must remain tentative, until his Tamil and Sanskrit works are studied thoroughly.

4. However, I refer to de Nobili's own writings by chapter and section number rather than by page number.

5. His views of classical society are most amply expressed in his two Latin treatises, the 1613 *Infarmatia de quibusdam moribus nationis indicae,* entitled *Indian Customs* (1972) in the translation, and the *Narratia Fundamentorum* of 1619, entitled *Adaptation* (1971). Throughout this essay I use "society" instead of "culture," to remind us that like "religion," "culture" is an idea which took shape subsequent to de Nobili's time. In his Latin writings he refers to India as a *res publica.* (See *Indian Customs* 1.6.)

6. He defends caste forthrightly and without embarrassment as a legitimate and reasonable hierarchical structuring of society. Dumont is correct in saying that de Nobili held that "caste only represented an extreme form of those distinctions of rank and estate well known in the West, and consequently was essentially only a social, not a religious matter..." (1980: 25). The main point of de Nobili's *Indian Customs* and *Adaptation* is to show that Brahmins have primarily social status, not religious status, and that therefore Brahmins need not cease to be Brahmins when they become Christian. In his apologetic work *Tusaṇa Tikkāram,* he devotes the first two chapters to a defense of the view that Christianity, like Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, is a religion for all castes, and that conversion to Christianity will not upset the order of society.

7. For a fuller description of de Nobili's notion of the Incarnation as presented in the *Tūṣaṇa Tikkāram,* see Clooney (1988).

8. For example, in the *Ātumanirṇayam* (chs. 26-27) he examines and seeks to refute four Śaivite views of union with Śiva: *sāmithya* ("being in proximity"), *sāmipya* ("being present to"), *sāyujya* ("intimate union"), and *sārūpya* ("having the same form").

9. For de Nobili's attacks on *avatāra,* see, for example, *Tusana Tikkāram* 6.2; for his attack on rebirth, see his treatise *Punarjennākṣepam.*

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Demons and Ghosts in Indian Folklore

WAYNE MCCLINTOCK

Among the rural peasantry of South Asia there is a tendency to attribute the misfortunes of life to the attacks of demons and ghosts. Serious attempts to incarnate the gospel message in this context must, therefore, seek to understand this cosmos of malignant spirits and its relevance to the everyday life of the villager. Within Indian folklore, the term bhut *represents a large amorphous category of spirit beings with common distinctive characteristics. Twenty-nine demon/ghosts are identified in the nomenclature presented here. Other beliefs and practices associated with bhut are also examined, and several recent field studies indicating the persistence of traditional beliefs concerning these beings are briefly summarized.*[1]

In contemporary Pakistan, beliefs concerning demons and ghosts clearly fall within the ambit of folk religion. Jarvis (1980:287) defines folk religion as "that cluster of attitudes held by a person or a group of persons, relating existence to the general order of the cosmos and which are neither based on empirical evidence nor incorporated within the institutionalized belief system of a society, as defined by leading representatives of those systems at any particular time." Orthodox Islamic beliefs and practices take little cognizance of the folklore concerning these malignant spirits, and it is the *pir* (saint), the *amil* (exorcist), and the *jadugar* (magician) who perform exorcisms and provide magical protection.

To understand why this state of affairs exists it is necessary to make a

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Contextual Theology as a Challenge to Dogmatics
Gerhard Sauter

(1) In the newer theology one has continually attempted to undergird dogmatics with the broadest possible foundation in order to support it as well as possible. In the process, the concept of "experience" has played a decisive role. For dogmatics, as a rule, this means that the way in which people are affected must be recognized. How is one engaged with that which is to be said theologically? What is actually important to us?

This state of being affected can be seen in very different ways. For the most part, today, this is understood in terms of the situation of the theologian. "Situation" refers particularly to the conditions under which one lives, the location where one lives, and the time at which one lives. We find ourselves in a certain position due to our origins, our education, our social and cultural relationships; and, finally, we find ourselves influenced by the situation of the world in which we are living together with other people, whether in prosperity or perversity. How far is dogmatics in this sense "situation bound" or "not bound"? That is a radical way of asking about our historicity. "Contextual theology" attempts to give an answer, an answer especially noticeable in Liberation Theology and its various forms, one of which is Feminist Theology, for instance.

"Contextual" refers to a theology which knows itself to be bound to the situation in which it emerges. It allows theology to recognize the social, political, and anthropological conditions

which have influenced churches, theologians, and the development of theology whether in agreement or disagreement with these conditions. As a result, the first question which is asked is, "How can theology be done?" The second question, "What does it say and what is its content?" is subordinate to the first. For, its content, it is claimed, can be only a function of a subject, that is, of one who performs as a theologian, one who expresses himself or herself in a theology.

The provocative title, "Contextual Theology," maybe understood more precisely by asking a few simple questions with which we are better acquainted than we are with this concept and which give us a clue as to what is actually meant here. For instance, one question is, "Is it thinkable that there is only one theology for all churches, for men and women, for black, white, and yellow people?" The representatives of "Contextual Theology" maintain that the answer is, "No." There can be no dogmatic that is appropriate to all. Such a dogmatic would be a fiction or a tool of continued oppression. At best there is a certain diversity of theologies, each from a different perspective and rooted in certain experiences. Otherwise, dogmatics hovers over people instead of reaching them and taking hold of their lives.

At this time, I would like to make a distinction which appears to me to point the way we want to go. Dogmatics is <u>situation</u>-<u>related</u> as is all human speech because it occurs in the medium of language. However, it is not so <u>situation</u>-<u>dependent</u> that it is simply a reflection of the conditions out of which it develops. This means that, although it always relates in

different ways to the different situations and living conditions in which people find themselves, it does not spring from these situations. The situation is not its source. Dogmatics will not be nourished by it nor appear as its product. Were it otherwise, then dogmatics and ideology would be synonymous. It would attempt to reduce the situations in which we live and which we know from experience, each one's experience being different from another's, to a common denominator that would be plausible for everybody.

In contextual theology a question that will be taken up and finally answered, because it is primary, elementary and unavoidable is, "How does that which must necessarily be said because faith demands that it necessarily must be said under all circumstances, relate itself to that which must be said unconditionally? How does it relate itself to that which shapes our circumstances--for we always believe under certain circumstances? In Middle Europe we live and believe within a very special social world, nourished by a cultural tradition, stamped by an historical constellation between church and state, not least through a conflict between Faith and Reason that has developed throughout history. Would not one living under other circumstances think differently than we Middle Europeans do?

I would like to tell you an anecdote. In 1968 when I came to Mainz from the peaceful city of Göttingen, a student pastor in Mainz told me that as a student pastor, he had to realize that he could not continue to think as he had done previously when he served a congregation in a suburb of Frankfurt. He did not go on to

say that I must talk to the people differently. What he really meant was that I must say something else, that I needed a different theology. As a Professor of Systematics, and suffering from my own occupational disease, I suspected that what would follow from that would not be a rich plurality of religious experiences but a pluralism of theologies. In the end, such a pluralism would result in every pastor finding it necessary to coin his or her own theology because the conditions under which one lives and works will vary with each person. Another result would be that theology, considered as a serious science and as a method of education, would become more and more impossible. This picture, of course, is somewhat distorted. It is a nightmare. But such a nightmare, perhaps, can sensitize us with regard to problems that are in the offing. Are we being led toward a development where there are only regional theologies, tied to specific places, theologies that possibly will be substantially different depending upon whether a female or a male theologian represents them?

(2) The key word "Context" presents the problem to us. How far does it go in offering us a solution?

The term, "context," in the way in which we use it in theology today, is relatively young. It had, as one says, its "Sitz im Leben" in the ecumenical discussions of the middle 60's, first among various theological trends in the United States, then more and more among theologians from Africa and Asia who attacked what was considered to be the burdensome theological legacy of European and, in part, North American colonialism. The term,

"context," stems from the Anglo-Saxon area of linguistics and means, generally, interrelations, or, as metaphorically expressed "a web," a "word-web," the syntactical interrelationships of a text. "Context" was spoken of linguistically and hermeneutically in this way for a long time. What is meant is the association of signs with other signs. Concurrent with the expansion of semiotics into a full-fledged theory of signs and symbols, the meaning of "context" has also been enlarged. As research in linguistics and sociology of speech has shown, symbols also can be pre-speech and beyond-speech. Then "context" means the whole structure into which a formulated text is woven. Here it seems that the general meaning that we mentioned first (interrelations) has prevailed. "Context" includes the totality of all reciprocal relationships in which something exists or happens.

Now one can understand the comprehensive sense of "context" in a two-fold manner. First, one can understand the interrelation of a text by establishing the linguistic shape of its environs. In historical theology this orientation has been common for a long time. It is necessary to know the interrelations in a text in order to discover how it developed and how it was perceived as it was formed.

For example, we can understand Martin Luther's treatise, "The Freedom of a Christian" (1520) only if we take into consideration that it was written in the midst of a torrent of demands for political liberty. Under these circumstances Luther emphasized in no uncertain terms the freedom "for which Christ has set us free"(Gal. 5:1), a freedom which applies under all

circumstances. It means that without any further consideration and without self-regard, we may look directly to God just at the moment when we do what is necessary for our neighbors in whatever emergency they find themselves. The freedom of faith is not permitted to fall into the whirlpool of liberation from reigning political powers by which those who are about to be pulled into the abyss are threatened. To what degree are we concerned at this point with the "context" of Luther's essay on Christian freedom, i.e. the freedom of faith? Only in this respect is the historical interrelations which surround Luther's statement that enable its profile to become distinct. The historian investigates these interrelationships and thereby assists in the recognition of the historical profile. This, in turn, gives the interpretation of the writing greater historical depth.than would otherwise be the case.

However, with regard to the term, "context," as it is used as the key word in a theological program, another nuance has been added and it alone becomes decisive. "Context" becomes the quintessence of all of the interrelationships of life and activity that illumine the "text." Context becomes that which must be known beforehand and which allows the text (or a speech which is preserved as a text) to be interpreted.

The literary relationship between text and context is carried over into the relationship between text and situation. At the same time, the text becomes the expression of the situation (that is to say, the productive confrontation of persons with the circumstances) and this explains it functionally. What counts is

not what it says, but what, under certain conditions, it means, intends and achieves. Whoever knows the context understands the text and has it in hand.

In other words, all that we are able to say is dependent upon the "context," that is, the conditions under which we exist, under which we also act, think, and speak. Those who know these conditions know also what in some way or other can be said, can be meant, or can happen. It is these convictions that form the basis of "contextual theology." The context is nothing less than the world, first of all the respective environment, but more inclusively, the world as a whole. It is the basis for everything that subsequently develops and we affect these interrelationships whether they are of act, speech or thought in order. In turn, we understand ourselves in relationship to them.

What will come of this for theology? It would appear that it, too, must be a particular function of its context. However, with the help of the context, one can reach the ground of theology. Theology is one of many possible forms of expression (or said in another way, "forms of reflection") of productive world relationships, resulting from conditions and influences on the situation that have been produced.

If theology is seen in this way, after considering the circumstances in which it is embedded, it should be perceived in a new way as a unity. These circumstances would lead, first of all, to an unbelievable multiplicity. This plurality, which would lead in turn to an endless pluralism, is subject, however, to reduction because theology, like every other human procedure, is

explained from the one context "world" and is understood radically from a single root understood as managing the world by weaving the threads that constitute the world. In the place of a theology for all times and for the whole world which is the way occidental theology, especially the dogmatic tradition is perceived, todaythere is substituted a theology which corresponds to the unity of the world, that is to say, a theology that serves to enable all to live together in one world.

That is the stated intention of contextual theology. It sees its task as contributing to, and above all as bringing about the consciousness that all people should be able to talk with one another and be responsible for one another in the world in which today they must exist under the most diverse conditions. They live in problematic, if not to a great extent, fatal contingent relationships. If this is once understood, then theology cannot do anything else except to challenge this all-encompassing situation. All nuances of contextual theology stand before the question of what holds the world together at its very core. It answers theoretically with the "world-formula," "the managing of being through the confrontation of the conditions of existence." For all practical purposes, contextual theology operates with the utopian assumption that the one world will materialize if all people are able to live under humane conditions. The unity of perception is called for in view of the one reality which, though not yet created, is the reality that guides us on our way since it is the basic foundation of all possible conditions of existence

Accordingly, contextual theology takes up the social and economic concerns of theology. These are the conditions "under which theology is done," within which it has a very specific function in order to be relevant to them. This is the definition of contextual theology according to the "Oekumene Lexikon" (Frankfurt 1983, 714) states:

(1) One does theology. It is a job, not in the sense of a troublesome and laborious circle of tentatio, meditatio, and oratio, but it is an activity of productive thinking--under specific conditions which are external to it but which it must adopt, in order that it really can be productive.

(2) Theology has a function. It does not remain idle nor is it established and supported by another, by the ultimate another. It allows itself to be identified only in relation to something else. For contextual theology, the main trust is the liberation of humankind from oppression that results from their actual living conditions, conditions that do not allow them to reach the point where they can live as human beings.

(3) Theology is measured by its relevance. It will be judged by what it achieves. Theology has to struggle for truly humane human life because God's salvation is not to be separated from the welfare of humanity.

I want to illustrate this three-fold objective by using an example from liberation theology.

In agreement with the analysis of the world situation outlined above, liberation theology wants to get to the very bottom of the problems presented by this situation. The question

is, "What is your attitude toward human freedom?" To be one with the basic sensitivities of humanity means that one is not alienated from anyone who is subjugated. Who does not want to be himself or herself, not obeying alien intentions, not being a means to the end for others, and not having to be alien to one's own being? This longing is hidden in the heart of every person. It is an inextinguishable memory of our common destiny as human beings. It lights our way as a torch at the head of a procession.

Liberation theology wants to expose human bondage as a collective obliviousness of God. People live and have lived in sin or have been thrust into the separation from God. This must be illustrated with the conditions in which people live such as the loss of political rights and social oppression. Theology has a function in this regard. It contributes to the resistance against inhuman, unjust structures. This is the first step towards liberation. The political and socio-economical realities are no longer ultimate but are subject to critique and change.

The second and decisive step is change The change can not be extensive enough. Above all, change must be continual process if one is serious about overcoming human obliviousness to God. Nonetheless, communion with God is no utopian yearning for the eschaton. On the contrary, it is to be found in solidarity with those who suffer, with those with whom God has identified himself, and with those for whose "cause" God has intervened. Every time one experiences liberation from the various forms of material, intellectual and spiritual affliction and misery, one

experiences God and one experiences also a common bond with humanity (even if these moments are transient).

This is only one floodlight that liberation theology, in its various colors, shines upon itself. One should say much more in this regard. One should answer the questions: "How does it raise consciousness against injustice? How does it struggle against indifference, that which is placidly accepted and ignored?" In a society that is concentrated upon itself in such a way that it is blind to the abyss that opens before it, many liberation theologians have gotten over the anxiety about speaking of God and of God's action in history.

In addition, it is important for dogmatics that many liberation theologians are attempting to understand the Lord's Supper as a sacramental core of personal and social life in a new way. This participation with God radiates from the human community which has learned to share all things with one another, even their suffering. Through communio and communicatio there emerge forms of social life which are not confined to the boundaries of the church but are connected with social action groups. This holds also for Christians who are not forced to act out of their own predicament but who want to show empathy and compassion with others in situations of distress and who want to demonstrate that all persons are called to solidarity in love, peace, justice, and above all, liberty.

(3) These impacts of liberation theology are focused in the demand to work out and to found theological knowledge differently than is customary. It is crucial to dogmatics that we

must take this challenge seriously because liberation theology understands itself as an all-encompassing critique of traditional thought. At the same time, the cultural tradition is critiqued with respect to its economic, social, and political relationships which have caused the majority of the world's people to live in affliction and misery and has legitimized the existence of the oppressed along with the oppressive conditions of existence.

Theology will then be judged as to whether or not it sanctions inhuman conditions in society. Is it a factor that stabilizes the status quo or is it a source of social transformation? This question presupposes two things. First, that society finds itself in continual change. Everything that happens, all that is done and thought, relates to this change in either a useful or a harmful manner. Second, this relationship, as in social inter-activity, can actually be measured and must be measured. Otherwise this function of theology is not recognizable.

Through this scientific-sociological approach, theology is conditioned. That which it should and can accomplish is already determined and with this more is said than the parameters of theological knowledge allows. At the same time, something quite different from traditional theology is assumed. Theology, as such, relates itself to God's speaking and, therefore, to "talk about God." Fundamental here is that it is possible to do theology only post hoc, that is, afterwards. Something like this is recounted in the story of God's appearance to Moses in the Book of Exodus (33:18-23). God promises to bring his divine presence into

in the presence of Moses. Moses is even allowed to call out God's name. But, at the same time, he has to shield himself from the fullness of God's power and brilliance so that God passes him allowing him to see only his back. No one is allowed to see God directly. He can only speak of him after God has confronted him.

Therefore theology is able to speak of God a posteriori, not a priori, in view of the cross of Christ. This is essential for the theologia crucis, the theology of the cross. Who would be able to say that God reveals himself there if God had not given himself in this moment and in this way? With this, it is impossible to say beforehand where God is to be experienced and how God is to be found. It is because God already has entered into covenant with us through the suffering and death of Jesus Christ that it would be false to search for God anywhere else than in the contingent act in which God has shown himself to us. God's revelation of himself offers hereby an explanation of the suffering that leads to this moment of divine self-disclosure.

In this way, Christian theology, in comparison with one of the function-oriented disciplines is less than defined (unterbestimmt). In my opinion, the crucial point is that the pattern of judgement relevant to theology is quite different to that which is applicable to forms of knowledge in the function-oriented disciplines. From beginning to end, theology is the basis on which people place themselves under God's judgment with regard to both their activity and lack of activity in counter-distinction to scrutinizing themselves in a process of self-justification. That is, persons are to see themselves standing

before God so that they themselves can be guided and directed by him without the interference of other perspectives and other considerations.

In the metaphorical language of theology this means listening to God's Word, resting assured on that which God has previously conveyed in Word and deed, as well as moving towards what God is bringing near to us. In this way persons are liberated from self-centered speech and endless discourse. To judge theologically means to have experienced the distinction between a posteriori and a priori in regard to the question of how to begin to talk about God.

What does this have to say to the challenge that comes from contextual theology? Its program relates theology to social change and identifies theology with action for the re-establishment of the world as it ought to be. In addition, contextual theology wants to understand dogmatics better than its traditional representatives have understood it. They understand traditional dogmatics as a component part of the western world that has formed a world unity by understanding the world itself as representative of divine unity. In place of this unity that has been expressed in and imposed through a unified theological thought structure having authoritative and imperial claims, contextual theology relies on a plurality, developed from different expressions of faith. The key problem, however, has to do with the relationship of deep-rooted human affections, speech and thought in regard to the rational responsibility of the structure of faith. Contextual theology transforms the concept of

oneness into that of global unity, the world in the process of unification as established by continual interaction.

The theological foundation to which the church of Jesus Christ must witness is not to be extracted from each particular context even though there are truly a number of different situations of which theology must take account. It is certainly true that the ground of theology and of faith is always given within a particular context but within each context that ground must be identified unambiguously and clearly even if the same words are not used in all contexts. The non-derivability of the theological foundation is related to the belief in one God, in the one Lord Jesus Christ, and in the one unifying Holy Spirit, based on the hope that God will be "everything to everyone " (I Cor 15:28). Under various circumstances, this non-derivable theological foundation will bring forth a cohesion between various contexts. Is not this hope alone sufficient for the development of the oecumene--not only the oecumene of the churches? The oecumene certainly will not grow out of just any particular theology that claims to be universal.

J. F. Powers, Dearly of a Priest.

"You must remember that if the church had accepted all the suggestions that have been made it would have become nothing but an endless series of sects."

Moffett

NOTES ON HARVEY CONN'S BOOK

Paul G. Hiebert
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It is a real privilege to join in this discussion on the trialogue between theology, anthropology and missions. It is is urgent, and it is long overdue.

First let me let you know where I am coming from. Anthropologically, I was trained in American Historicism which focused on culture more than social organization, although I had considerable exposure to British Structural Functionalism. It also continued some emphasis on a historical or diachronic approach to particular cultures in contrast to the strong structural or synchronic tone of Functionalism. In recent years, however, I have moved largely into Symbolic Anthropology and Semiotics, both of which seek to understand 'meaning systems' and the place signs, symbols, rituals and myths (in the technical, not popular sense) play in such systems. My reflections will obviously reflect these anthropological biases.

Theologically I am an evangelical anabaptist. As such, I hold a high view of Scripture, and make a difference between Scripture and our understandings of it, namely our theologies. For me, faith is cognitive (orthodoxy) and affective (orthopathy), but it is not really faith until these leads to obedience and discipleship (orthopraxy). Moreover, along with Harvey Conn, I reject a (Greek) neoplatonic dualism between supernatural and natural, but affirm a (Hebraic) dualism between God as Creator, and Creation. Here, too, my beliefs will color my comments. As an aside, I must say that Harvey, in many ways, sounds like a closet evangelical anabaptist, and I would be only too happy to claim him as one of us.

In my comments I would like to make a some commendations, ask for one or two clarifications, offer a few critiques, and suggest some continuations of the trialogue.

SOME COMMENDATIONS

First, let me offer Harvey some strong commendations. He has led us onto a stormy sea, and offered us clear course for navigation. It is safer, in our day of academic specialization, to choose a narrow question and give a highly technical answer which few can refute. But such exercises are of little value in a world in which sin and its effects abound. We must thank Harvey, therefore, for forcing us to look for some Grand Unifying Theory, or at least some informed trialogue, that would help us to understand who we are as Christians, and what our mission is in our day. I know of no one as informed in all three areas of theology, anthropology and mission as he. His book is a master piece in leading us into the trialogue. He raises the right questions, and points in the right directions.

Specifically, let me commend Harvey, from my point of view, for:

- his efforts to reject the (Greek) neoplatonic dualism that has plagued Christian (including or especially evangelicals) thought for so long, and his search for a wholistic approach to the Gospel and mission.
- his use of Kuhn's insights into the paradigmatic nature of knowledge systems, and his use of these in organizing his analysis.
- his use of worldview as a key concept in understanding the largely implicit premises upon which meaning systems are built.
- his awareness that a paradigm is determined by the key questions it asks and the methods it uses rather than in the answers it gives.
- his insights into the key questions raised by the social sciences that lie at the heart of the trialogue.
- his willingness to dialogue with the social sciences, but his maintenance of theology as the larger, encompassing frame within which we must work as Christians.
- his welfounded critique of the debate regarding contextualization.

- his synthesis of diachronic and synchronic models.

I found Harvey's discussion of theology and theologizing (chapter 6) and theological education (chapter 7) most helpful, partly because they fill in big gaps in my knowledge of current debates in theology and education, and partly because they put foundations under my anabaptist convictions.

Above all, we must commend Harvey for his balance between 'truth and love' - between seeking to understand and take seriously theories and positions other than his own, and confronting us with the importance of holding on to truth, but doing so with a redemptive not condemnatory spirit.

SOME CLARIFICATIONS

In reading the book, there were a number of areas where I needed further clarification. I will mention only two.

First, I would like a further elucidation of the meaning of "static". The term is central to the argument at a number of points, particularly in defining Consciousness One. The general impression I get is that it is 'bad'. It means either that a) theoreticians have developed theories that do not take change into account, or b) that they hold their theories to be final, unchangeable truth (227). On the other hand, on a few occasions it seems to refer to beliefs that there are some unchanging, fixed absolutes (as for instance in systematic theology), or universals (as in anthropology). Such beliefs, it seems to me, underlie any faith that there is order in reality, and that there is commensurability between paradigms (a key problem with Kuhn's approach). I am aware that words mean different things in different contexts. Masterman (1970) accuses Kuhn of using the term 'paradigm' in at least twenty-three different ways in the first edition of **The Nature of Scientific Revolutions.** It would help me if we could keep these different meanings of the word distinct.

Second, I need clarification on the term 'covenantal'. I am aware of its meaning and central place in Reformed theology with regard to the relationship between God and humans. At times, I sense in Harvey's discussions a secondary (almost anabaptist) meaning of the term as a covenant between God's people. This would help break down the extreme individualism that has plagued protestant thought, and lead to what Krauss (1979) has called 'community hermaneutics'. Kraus' emphasis helps safeguard us from making 'the priesthood of all believers' into a justification for theological lone-rangerism.

SOME CRITIQUES

Harvey has done us good service by introducing us to the implications of Kuhn and 'paradigms' in thinking about anthropology, theology and missions. We need, however, to be aware of some of the limitations in Kuhn's use of the term pointed out in recent literature, and to some refinements of it suggested by philosophers of science. The term 'paradigm' is 'fuzzy' - hence its usefulness in thinking in new ways, but also its deceptiveness in thinking rigorously. Harvey, and we, will need to clarify what we mean by the term, and, more important, how we apply it in organizing the trialogue.

After Masterman's critique, Kuhn limited 'paradigm' specifically to the 'exemplar' and his/her classical study which serves as a model for successors. We, however, continue to use the term more broadly. At times it is an 'explicit school of thought' in theology, as for example in theology or anthropology. At other times it is 'a fundamental worldview stance' which is largely implicit and largely hidden to those within it because it is 'the glasses through which they look at the world, not the world at which they look'. Technically, we should not use 'paradigm' with

respect to 'worldviews'. But, as Harvey has shown, it is most rewarding to do so.

More serious is Kuhn's view that paradigms are incommensurable. People in one paradigm cannot really understand those in another. In the end this led Kuhn to an instrumentalist epistemology in which science (and theology) are useful because they enable us to solve problems, but in which we can no longer speak of them as 'truth'. This, of course, only reinforces our North American pragmatism and relativism that cuts the tap root of theology and missions (and also of anthropology). We need, therefore, to clarify our views of inter-paradigm understandings. Recent studies have shown that the walls between paradigms are more 'porous' than Kuhn would have us believe. All of this does not undermine Kuhn's central contribution (following Gestaltist thought) that we must understand systems of meaning not in terms of the sum of their parts, but in terms of the configurations and relationships between these parts.

Finally, recent revisions have shown that rarely, if ever, is a discipline such as theology or anthropology, or even physics, characterized by one dominant paradigm. Rather, two or more paradigms normally coexist and compete for center stage. If this is the case, it would be helpful to look not only at the dialogue between anthropology, theology and missions, but between say Linguistic Anthropology - Evangelical Theology - Bible Translation. I would like to pursue this a little further later in my comments.

Second, I do not believe in the trialogue that we have moved beyond issues of ontology and epistemology to the debates between theology and anthropology. Part of the problem is the worldview assumptions regarding epistemology and ontology that underlie these two fields. Another part of the problem is that the sciences are in the middle of a crisis of

epistemology, the outcome of which is yet unresolved. In fact, I hope to show that Harvey's three consciousness reflect different epistemological approaches to the study of humans and cultures. In a sense, E. Stanley Jones was right when he said that Eastern philosophy/theology is an epistemology in search of a content, and Western philosophy/theology is a content in search of an epistemology.

SOME CONTINUATIONS

In the light of the above comments, let me suggest a few leads that may help us refine Harvey's model, and continue the trialogue.

First, we need to refine our analysis of the specific anthropological and theological paradigms underlying various missiological paradigms that have emerged in our day. For example, the social science roots behind Church Growth theory is structural sociology of the 1930 - 195s. Dynamic equivalence Bible translation is rooted in Descriptive Linguistics. Chuck Kraft's ethnotheological approach has its roots in New Anthropology, the offspring of Descriptive Linguistics, and its emphasis on emic approaches and ethnomusicology, ethnosemantics, ethnojurisprudence and ethnomethodology. Most contemporary missiological theories have been impacted in varying degrees by Social Structural Functionalism with its organic view of culture, emphasis on 'integration', 'function' and 'functional substitutes', and explanation of human realities largely in sociological terms. My own thinking has its roots in American Historicism, Applied Anthropology and Symbolic Anthropology with some incorporation of social structuralist and New Anthropology ideas.

A delineation of the various paradigms in anthropology (see appendix 1) and their theoretical and worldview underpinnings will help us to be more aware of the presuppositions they bring into our missiology. A similar

analysis of theological paradigms underlying missiological schools of thought is also needed.

Furthermore, we must recognize that there is often a time-lag involved between the development of a particular paradigm in anthropology or theology, and its emergence in a school of missiology. For example, at the School of World Mission, we are operating largely out of anthropological paradigms developed in the 1950 - 1970s. We need to draw more heavily upon the new paradigms emerging in the 1980s such as semiotics, cognitive structuralism and political anthropology (Sherwood Lingenfelter at BIOLA is into this). Otherwise we will continue to be dominated in missiology by linguistics and structural functionalism, both of which have emphasized linguistic and cultural particularism and relativism at the expense of absolutes and universals.

Second, We need to examine more carefully the current epistemological crisis taking place in western science, indeed in the western worldview, and its implications for anthropology, theology and missions (see appendices 2and 3). In rejecting the positivism (Barbour's naive realism) of Consciousness One, we are now in danger in Consciousnesses Two and Three of buying into instrumentalism with its emphasis on problem solving (Jaque Ellul's 'technique' 1964), pragmatism and success. The relativism it introduces, however, destroys both theology and science as quests for truth. This, I believe, accounts for many concerns many feel regarding Church Growth theory, ethnotheology, and receptor oriented communication. We need to explore the implications of the 'critical realism' explored by critics of Kuhn such as Laudin (1977) which affirms the approximate and contextualized but absolute nature of truth, and recognizes both the subjective and objective nature of knowledge, the sender and receptor orientation of communication, and the need to combine emics with etics.

Third, in the analysis of epistemology we must give particular attention to the relationship between 'form' and 'meaning'. In the positivism underlying Consciousness One, form is equated with meaning. The result is literal translation and literal exegesis. In Consciousnesses Two and Three, form and meaning are divorced. The result is 'dynamic equivalence' translation and theology. More recently, Semiotics and Symbolic Anthropology see the relationship of the two as more complex - as ranging all the way from F = M, through F = M (as in analogy, metaphor, etc) to F / M. Moreover, the relationship is not individual nor arbitrary. It is created by a community and passed down through history. Consequently we must be more careful in translating meanings and forms from one society to another. The missionary and the Christian community often do not control the meaning of words, rituals and other forms, at least not in the outside world, and when they are a minority in the land.

Fourth, we need to follow Harvey's lead and discuss further the relationship between religion and culture in general, and Gospel and culture in particular. Harvey is right in not letting us off the hook by compartmentalizing the two. And he warns us correctly of the dangers of trying to formulate a 'core theology'. His emphasis on the 'center of theology' is very helpful. Here we need look for 'absolutes'. My feeling is that we will find it in the Christian affirmation of a real history, and in the specific historicity recorded in Scripture. No matter what we think about it, Paul reminds us, Christ did die and rise again. I am not arguing that the historicity of this can be proved beyond a shadow of a doubt (which is rooted in reason), but that our affirmation of that historicity (based on evidences but ultimately rooted in faith) makes it a 'given' upon which we build. It strikes me that the early creeds of the church are, indeed, affirmations of the reality of historical events.

Fifth, we must follow Harvey's lead in discussing the nature of theology. In reacting to the absolute, universal claims of western theology, we are in danger of particularizing theology to each culture. The result is relativism, and a lack of real concern about the sinful nature of human cultures, syncretism or the prophetic nature of the Gospel. The answer, I think, may be found in two lines of thought advanced in critical realism. One has to do with the theory of 'complimentarity'. If knowledge, as critical realism affirms, is more a blueprint or map than a photograph, we do need different descriptions (different blueprints or maps) to understand a reality too big for our limited human comprehension. In other words, we need to balance diachronic (historical) and synchronic (structural) models; theological and social science models; sociological and cultural models; systematic and biblical theologies; and so on. One may be in focus, but we avoid the reductionism of saying that that is all there is to reality. Moreover, we must constantly work at resolving areas of contradiction between them. In complimentarity, models are not isolated from each other as they are in an instrumentalist epistemology. They are seen as different view **of the same reality,** hence internal contradictions must be dealt with.

The other concept is 'meta'. As Hoffstedter (198?) points out, in order to build a bridge of understanding between two paradigms (or cultures) and to pass judgment on them, we need to develop meta-grids that emerge out of understanding each from within (emic), and stand above the paradigms (etic), enabling us to translate, compare and judge them. Thus a bi-cultural person who has been involved deeply in two or more cultures normally does develop a metacultural grid by which she/he can compare and evaluate these cultures. We need to use the concept of meta to avoid the problems raised by Kuhn's emphasis on the incommensurability of paradigms.

Sixth, we need more study on the nature of worldviews and how they impact different theological and anthropological paradigms. My conviction is that many of our differences, particularly those associated with deep fears, have more to do with worldview assumptions than explicit theological or theoretical disagreements. In other words, the trialogue needs to look at the worldview assumptions we bring with us as well as with our specific systems of belief. In particular, we need to define what we believe is a biblical world view. Without this, our theorizing and theologizing will eventually be secularized.

Seventh, we need to deal with the relationship between individual and community in the formulation of new understandings. Here I would only call for more of the kinds of dialogue that this conference exemplifies - a dialogue that is committed to seeking truth, to asking the hard questions and facing them honestly, to continuing the discussion even when we disagree, to testing our ideas with brothers and sisters in the faith, and to tying our beliefs to our mission to the world.

In closing, let me commend Harvey for his massive and masterful contribution to our understanding not only of the debate between anthropology, theology and mission, but also his model which, I believe, should be the foundation for our continued discussions.

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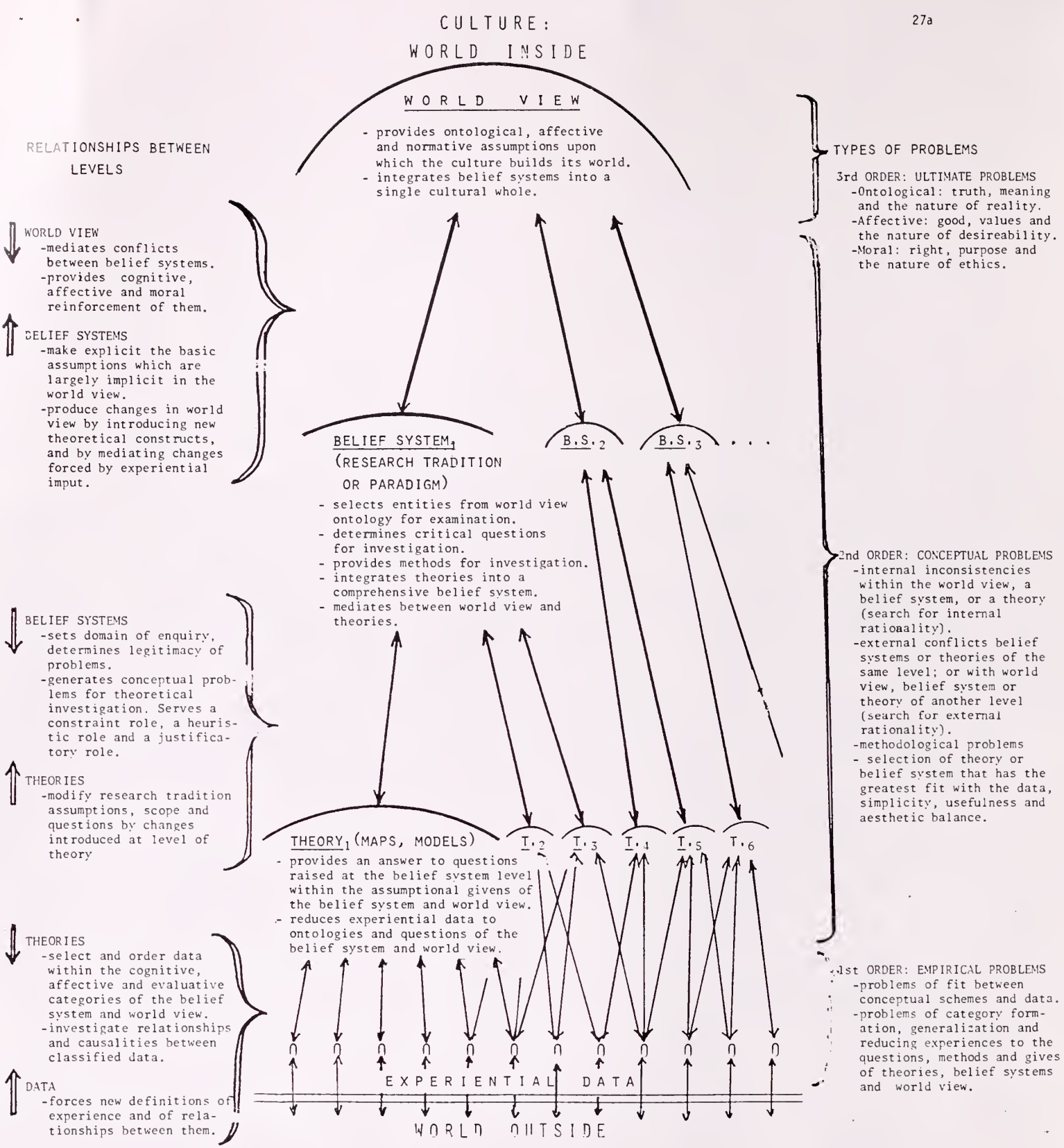

FIGURE 3

LEVELS OF MENTAL CONSTRUCTION

FOUR STAGES IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR MISSIONS

EPISTEMOLOGY	SCIENTIFIC WORLDVIEW	ANTHROPOLOGY	MISSIONS
CONSCIOUSNESS ONE: BIOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL EVOLUTION			
Naive Realism: - knowledge is a photograph of reality - it is objective - there is a 1:1 correspondence with reality - the test is truth which is objective, timeless and acultural - truth is cognitive - there is no place for feeling or subjectivity - truth is based on experience and reason - value judgments must be made on the basis of scientific values	Scientist (subject: cog.) • • People (objects) - unity of humanity & human history - west the standard - form = meaning - neoPlatonic dualism - materialism - reductionist	Grand Unifying Theories (GUTs) - comparative approach - diachronic - etic - view from above - deterministic models - laws of history: biological and sociocultural - evolution of body and mind - culture = the sum of traits, emphasis on technology - religion = primitive mentality	Colonial Missions - parental attitude - equation of Gospel with western culture - formal Bible translations - rejection of old cultures and rites - importation of Wester ways - Gospel often foreign
CONSCIOUSNESS TWO: A: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY			
Naive Realism: - positivism or naive realism claimed for scientific theories - science seen as supracultural and ahistorical - above culture and history - people seen primarily as the products of their social or cultural settings	Scientist (subject: cog.) • • • People (sociocultural beings) - all cultures and societies are good - stress diversity of humanity and cultures - reductionist - form // meaning - neoPlatonic dualism	Social Particularism - social determinism - organic view of society - emphasize differences between societies and cultures - study each by itself - emic approach - see it from within - stress functional nature of societies and integration of cultures - synchronic or short range diachronic theories - social relativism - religion = social glue	Anti-Colonialism - emphasize the good in all cultures - see what God is doing in each culture and build on it - uncritical contextualization - dynamic equivalence translation - stop exporting western ways - work within homogeneous groupings
CONSCIOUSNESS THREE: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY			
Instrumentalism: - knowledge is a rorschach - cannot speak of truth - the test is utility - the focus is on problem solving and technique phenomenological - science must be understood in its historical and cultural setting - theoretical relativism	Scientist (subject: cog.) • • • ¶ • ¶ People (thinking beings) - reductionist - neoPlatonic dualism - form // meaning - nonjudgmentive	Cultural Particularism - organic model of culture - stress diversity - anthropolog's task is cross-cultural hermeneutics - ethnoscience - stress rational, cognitive nature of humans - cultual relativism	Anti-Colonialism - cultures are basically good - maintain old cultures as much as possible, seek minimum change - dynamic equivalence Bible translation - test of pragmatism: truth based on experience and feelings
CONSCIOUSNESS FOUR: THEORETICAL DIVERSITY + COMPLIMENTARITY			
ritical realism: - knowledge is a map or blueprint - it is objective + subjective - it is embedded in worldviews - it is paradigmatic in nature - it is approximate - we know in part, but we can know truth - various blueprints must compliment each other - controductions must be resolved - complimentarity of: diachronic/synchronic; science/theology social/cultural/biological; etc. - nonHegelian dialectic leading to closer approximations of truth	Scientist (person = cog, + aff. + eval.) • • • ¶ • / People (rational, affective and valuating beings) - wholistic, nonreduc. - forms related to meanings in complex ways - cultures are both good and evil	Theoretical Pluralism/Complim. - emic analysis - hermaneutics + etic comparative analysis - using metacultural grids - stress cognitive, affective and evaluative culture - reject cultural relativism - explore a multiplicityu of models - judge after understanding a culture	Post-Colonial Missions - incarnational - mutual submission - Gospel ≠ culture - Gospel encompasses culture - wholistic - self-theologizing + seeking a transcultural theology by means of meta-theological dialogue

Phillips, Rev. James	Overseas Ministries Study Center	
Rempel, Rev. Erwin	General Conference Mennonite Church, Newton, KS	Holiday Inn
Rubingh, Dr. Eugene	International Bible Society Grand Rapids, MI	Rm. 201
Scanlon, Dr. A. Clark	Foreign Mission Board, SBC Richmond, VA	Guest Rm. 303
Shenk, Rev. Wilbert	Mennonite Bd. of Missions Elkhart, IN	Holiday Inn
Tienou, Dr. Tite	Alliance Theological Seminary Nyack, NY	Apt. G
Walls, Prof. Andrew	Center for Study of Christianity Aberdeen, Scotland	Guest Apt. B
Whiteman, Dr. Darrell	E. Stanley Jones School of World Missions Wilmore, KY	Guest 574 Prospect
Wilson, Dr. Sam	Zwemer Inst. Muslim Studies Altadena, CA	YDS Guest Lodge
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OMSC April 22 23

Tuberts 5 Questions

(1) Who does Theology, & how.
Who does anthropology & how.

(2) What is the role of the missionary

(3) What is our understanding of history A sense of directionality
News is a false substitute for an understanding of history

ON CONTEXTUALIZING Dr Carson Apr. 1988

Carson's Summary

(1) Don't over-react against your past

(2) Don't stress the periphery more than the center. Some cross the frontiers, but lose the base.

(3) Be as critical of our criticisms as of what we criticize

(4) Don't out-flex the NT. If less flexible you're too narrow, if more flexible

(5) We must marry evangelism + witness (i.e what the gospel means is and what the gospel/Jesus is to me)
This is what makes change

"Some Reflections on Harvie M. Conn,
Eternal Word and Changing Worlds:
Theology, Anthropology, and Mission in Trialogue"

D. A. Carson
Professor of New Testament
Trinity Evangelical Divinity School

In a gesture of extraordinary tolerance, the organizers of this conference have invited along someone like myself--someone who is not an anthropologist, not a missiologist, and, apparently, not even a theologian (if Kraft's suggestion is valid--*i.e.*, that real "theology" is the fruit of etic theologizing, not emic theology). I may perhaps reassure myself by supposing that Kraft's suggestion is both invalid and unhelpful, but the fact remains that I am doubtless an amateur amongst professionals when it comes to discussing Professor Conn's impressive book.

What I have to say shall be divided into two parts. First, I shall offer some general reflections on the thesis and thrust of the book as a whole, and then I shall proceed to some more particular observations and criticisms. Because the nature of a response such as this demands demurral, critical reflection, disagreement, and perhaps suggestions as to how an argument might be improved or deepened, it is important that I say at the beginning that I found the book stimulating, frequently very wise, and certainly much needed in today's climate. Anything I now say with a negative note must be taken within the context of a very high approval rating.

A. Reflections of a General Nature

1. At the risk of plagiarism, I would like to cede the language of "Consciousness One," "Consciousness Two," and "Consciousness Three" to Professor Conn, and propose instead two new forms, "Consciousness A" and "Consciousness B." These refer to two separate outlooks adopted by critics who contemplate the

past, examine the present and chart the future. Those who belong to "Consciousness A" tend to bad-mouth the present and revere the past. The present, and still more the future, are clearly going to the dogs; the good old days preserved the best wine. Those who belong to "Consciousness B" adopt precisely the opposite stance. In the past just about everybody had everything wrong. In the present, most people have most things wrong, although a few bright people seem to know where the future lies--and if we just listen to them, we may get ourselves on the right course. Of course, I am indulging in nearly indefensible caricature; but my point is that Professor Conn clearly falls into "Consciousness B." Doubtless he himself feels the evidence justifies such a stance. From an *a priori* vantage point, I confess I am as suspicious of "Consciousness B" as I am of "Consciousness A." I confess I would have found Professor Conn's analysis more convincing if I had sensed some merging of "Consciousness A" with "Consciousness B," some evenhandedness in the assessment of the understanding and outlook of our spiritual fathers. I am not saying that most of his points regarding the past do not have considerable merit to them. I am only saying that Professor Conn seems to display far more empathy toward those whom he judges to be visionaries of the future than he does to leaders of the past. This could be charted in a number of ways, but perhaps the subsidiary points I am about to make will provide adequate documentation.

2. Part of the same problem, but differentiable from it, is the high degree of generalization embedded in Professor Conn's historical analysis. Of course, some degree of generalization is necessary: one cannot undertake to articulate and maintain a sweeping analysis unless one resorts to generalizations. Although Professor Conn makes many good points, the generalizations should be recognized by alert readers, so that they will not take his thesis uncritically, or, worse, take it to extremes. The problem surfaces in the high percentage of secondary

literature quoted in this book, in a rather obsolete kind of historiography that traces developments in the Western world through crucial transitional figures while not considering what the common folk amongst Christians believed and practiced (following the lead of the "Annales" school); it surfaces again even in the category "Consciousness." This term is so all-embracing that it proports to summarize what is dominant, characteristic or controlling in the outlook and worldview of a particular group or period. It does not take much digging, however, to recognize that there were other strands of thought than those represented by Professor Conn as finding their way into the "Consciousness" of groups "One" and "Two." I do not doubt, and would not pretend to justify, the essentially colonial mentality of late nineteenth- century British missionaries. Nevertheless, I also note that one-third of those who volunteered for service in Central Africa died--and the volunteers knew the statistics going in. Whether this was determined by profound spiritual commitment, a readiness to take up one's cross daily, or by a kind of cultural *noblesse oblige*, or some mixture of the three, may be open to dispute. Nevertheless any study proporting to examine the "Consciousness" of this particular period can scarcely afford to ignore this feature. Similarly, James O. Buswell III, in a lengthy review in the *Trinity Journal*[1], argues at some length that Professor Conn's understanding of "Consciousness Two" is fundamentally flawed by his dependence on restricted historical analyses. The ensuing charge that everything with which Professor Conn disagrees he blames on a "static" view of cultures (probably the most dominant characterization of functionalism throughout the book) may not be applicable to those whose historical paradigms differ somewhat from the outline provided in this book.

3. The analysis offered by Professor Conn is very Western. This is of

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[1]*Trinity Journal* 7 (1986) 69-95.

course acknowledged by Professor Conn himself (page 14). On the other hand, a rising percentage of the total number of missionaries in the world now comes from non-Western countries. Even as the church itself must become more global in outlook, so also must our analysis of the missionary situation. At the risk of a slanderous generalization, my impression is that in various countries where Koreans (for instance) have recently invested a large amount of money and a growing missionary force, one can frequently find a list of errors and misjudgments typical of Protestant missions of the last 150 years: the establishment of new Korean-type churches, a rather condescending attitude toward the receptor culture, a love of relative ease made possible by abundant wealth, and the like. As with earlier Western missionaries, there are wonderful exceptions; but I suspect my impressions will stand up to some scrutiny. Does this mean the church in South Korea is going through its own version of "Consciousness One" and/or "Consciousness Two"? Are there not other factors that need to be explored and which may prove far more determinative of these sad results?

4. It might have been helpful, as well, if Professor Conn had made mention of the many missionary situations where expatriates work with established national leaders, and find that the national leaders are the ones who are extremely conservative and reluctant to change things that they have had handed down to them for two or three generations--even those very things which our Western realignment frankly acknowledges to be the fruit of Western cultural imperialism! Preaching recently in St. Mark's Cathedral, Bangalore, on a Sunday morning, and in Richmond Town Methodist Church that same evening, I was struck by the degree of traditionalism (though very different traditions) found in both. Woe betide the Western missionary who tries to change those traditions! We can blame this, if we like, on the errors of past missionaries; but we must come

to grips with the world as it is, and the truth of the matter is that on many missionary fields the most conservative, inflexible and unyielding leaders are those most tightly linked with the national church. Of course, Professor Conn does not deny this, but it would have been extremely helpful to see it factored into his analyses somewhere.

5. One of the few places where I would distance myself almost entirely from Professor Conn's work is in his approval of the extension of "dynamic equivalence" from the linguistic domain, where it first served, to the domains of culture and theology (page 147ff., 154ff., 167ff.). This step he (rightly) largely ascribes to Kraft. In my judgment, however, the step is singularly unfortunate. As I have discussed the matter elsewhere[2], I shall avoid repeating myself here. In recent correspondence from Professor Charles Taber, however, I note that he not only concurs with my warnings, but has written an article, now in manuscript form, taking my arguments yet further.[3]

Perhaps a few observations may be entered, even though it would be somewhat repetitious to go over all the same terrain again. The first thing to note is that when "dynamic equivalence" (now largely superceded by "functional equivalence") was coined, the concern was to preserve the meaning that was presumed to lie in the text as an accurate reflection of what the author intended, by using forms of expression in the receptor language that preserved both the meaning and the appropriate response, even though those forms were radically different from their formal equivalents in the donor language. The underlying assumption is a truism of linguistics: anything can be translated

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[2]D. A. Carson, "The Limits of Dynamic Equivalence in Bible Translation," first published in *Evangelical Review of Theology* and now reprinted in *Notes on Translation* 121 (November 1987) 1-15.

[3]Charles R. Taber, "Dynamic Equivalence Revisited" (a paper so far unpublished, but recently submitted to a particular journal).

from one language to another language, but only rarely in the same form. This sort of "equivalence" was therefore designed to *preserve* the truth of the text. The "changes" that were made were at the level of formal, linguistic features, and most of us would be happy with the argument that most features in most languages (and probably all features at low-level connections, unlike high-level features such as literary genre) are ethically neutral and entirely arbitrary. Swapping one formal feature for another in order to preserve the meaning of the text involves considerable linguistic competence, but few ethical or doctrinal dilemmas. And the aim, as Nida and Taber were quick to insist when they coined the expression, was to preserve and communicate the author's intent as preserved in the donor text.

By contrast, when Kraft extends the expression (I cannot see why Professor Conn calls it a "model") to "dynamic equivalence churches" and the like, he is doing something quite different. Professor Conn writes:

> In keeping with the model of dynamic equivalence, Kraft refuses to restrict "revelation" to some informational product of God's past activity. It cannot be "anything less than the total process by means of which God and human beings participate in the actualizing of the potential inherent in either general or special revelational information." The traditional theological distinction between revelation and illumination is rejected by Kraft as implying too static a view of revelation. What others have called illumination, Kraft calls stimulus, the Spirit-guided activation of revelational information within the will of the receptors (pages 169-170).

Kraft couples this understanding of revelation with a "case-book" approach to Scripture, and views the Bible as the tether or rope which limits how far any legitimate theology may stray. Regardless of how his view of revelation is

perceived, however, this way of looking at communication is streets away from "dynamic equivalence" as used in the field of translation. In translation theory, the assumption remains that the "given," the donor text, enshrines the author's intent, and must be communicated in the receptor language. That is precisely the distinction that Kraft's understanding of revelation muddies. Moreover, in translation theory the changes that are made, at the linguistic level, are not only ethically neutral but are designed to preserve the meaning of the original message. In Professor Kraft's model, however, because revelation is not "restricted" to the text, there is something else that is added to the message at the level of reception, and this addition is merely in some way tethered to the text. Whatever it is that is changed is not merely some formal linguistic category. As Professor Taber points out in the paper to which I have just made reference, once one moves away from low-level linguistic connections, there are few aspects of culture that are entirely neutral. His example is the form "baptism by immersion in water": he comments, "[I]f a symbolic meaning of 'washing away sins' is part of that rite, then it is hard to see how any other form would convey that meaning equally well" (page 2). I would not deny that the verb "to reveal" is used in the Bible for what theologians sometimes call "illumination." The authority status of the two types of "revelation," however, is entirely different, as judged by that same Scripture. Moreover, the "tether" analogy is useful *only* if one has already accepted the "case- book" analysis of Scripture. In my view that is fundamentally mistaken. The internal connections within Scripture (*e.g.* Romans 4; Galatians 3) simply rule out that kind of analysis. A "salvation-historical" framework is imposed by the text itself--as Professor Conn elsewhere rightly notes. For all that Professor Carl F. H. Henry has taken his licks here and elsewhere for his failure to interact with Professor Kraft's sophisticated and frequently helpful appeal to cultural

anthropology, I think it must be said, in defense of Professor Henry, that it is very doubtful that Professor Kraft could have developed a number of his points the way he did if he enjoyed any rich grasp of what might be recognized as any sort of traditional evangelical understanding of Scripture. The problem is not simply with "overload" (to use Professor Conn's term), but with the suitability of the entire "model" of dynamic equivalence.

6. The thrust of Professor Conn's book is to push evangelicals (and others) toward greater hermeneutical openness, greater sensitivity to the demands of contextualization, greater awareness of our own theological roots and cultural presuppositions, and so forth. I would be the last one to deny that such changes are necessary in many of our circles. Indeed, not a few of my own writings have, in less significant ways, tried to nudge people in that general direction. Nevertheless, in reflective moments I wonder if a later generation might not assess us with scathing criticism. The missionaries who went out under "Consciousness Two" did not think through the kinds of questions we are raising now; they in turn displaced other missionaries who went out under "Consciousness One," who in their part of history did not reflect on their own biases. I am forced to ask myself: what are our unseen and unrecognized biases? How will a later generation of missiologists and anthropologists assess us? It is at that point that I begin to wonder if in some circles we have not already gone too far. Doubtless there are many conservative evangelicals who are still blissfully unaware of the new hermeneutic, of the importance of contextualization, of the degree of cultural imperialism that many missionaries truck around with them. On the other hand, in the world of scholarship at large, the new hermeneutic has so influenced literary, historical, social and theological studies that the only impolite interpretation, in many circles, is the interpretation that suggests another interpretation is incorrect. Pluralism, syncretism, methodological

confusion and variability, the primacy of individual interpretations, bordering at times on sheer solipsism, are the order of the day. When I read some feminist interpretations of Scripture, some black interpretations of Scripture, some Indian approaches to Scripture and the like, I am usually not impressed by the greater degree of contextualization that has enriched these studies, but by the sheer methodological disarray, the completely unjustified eisegesis--approaching the exegetical insanity of some of our more popular Western preachers and teachers! Unless one is prepared to retreat into unqualified solipsism, one must develop, along with cultural sensitivity and a sophisticated theory of contextualization, some hermeneutical principles that allow one to say, at the end of the day, that for perfectly good and valid reasons the text does not mean X or Y. Only such sophistication will allow the best of, say, sub-Saharan African theology on the family to correct our individualistic reading of Scripture in the West, and allow Western theology, at various points, to influence nascent African theology, and so forth. If the trailing edge of evangelicals has not yet heard of the new hermeneutic, the leading edge has already bought into more than is justified: that, in my judgment, is what later historians will say of us. In other words, Professor Conn's book is popular and useful precisely because it articulates so well what many thinkers are coming to anyway; and it is precisely at that point that I want to re-examine the foundations again, and ask if we are going too far.

When I lectured recently at SAIACS, the dominant concerns of this bright group of MTh students was not how to develop and think through the material I was presenting within an essentially Hindu culture (though of course we did spend some time on such points), but on how to respond to the views of many Indian churchmen, influenced by scholars such as M. M. Thomas and his colleagues. These views judge it entirely appropriate within an Indian culture

to see the Bhagavad Gita as an acceptable "Old Testament" behind the New Testament-- with our Old Testament scrapped. Of course, with that set of antecedent roots, the New Testament itself takes on an entire array of "fresh meanings." The questions of the SAIACS students were not merely defensive, the thoughtless response of knee-jerk conservatives. Rather, they had come so far down the road in sophisticated training about the importance of contextualization, the inevitability of private interpretations, the independence of cultures and the like, that, although these students sprang from evangelical roots, they had no idea how to handle the more extreme theologies emerging from the United Theological College and elsewhere. I'm sure Professor Conn shares these concerns of mine. I wish he had dealt with them more thoroughly in his book. I fear that some bright young missiologist at Westminster Seminary, fifty years from now, will be articulating some rather negative things about "Consciousness Three," while pointing the way forward to "Consciousness Four"!

B. Miscellaneous Reflections on Particular Points

The brevity of this response requires that I do little more than list some points in Professor Conn's book where more work needs to be done.

1. Professor Conn at several points refers to the "paradigm shift" theory of Thomas Kuhn (*e.g.* pages 50, 318). Although he expresses gentle reservation, he seems to endorse the theory. It should be pointed out that philosophers of science have modified that theory rather drastically, and Kuhn himself largely accepts their criticism.[4] We should be careful about basing too much of our historical analysis on outmoded theories regarding the progress of knowledge.

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[4]*Cf.* especially Frederick Suppe, ed., *The Structure of Scientific Theories* (Urbana: University of Illinois, [2]1977); and Gary Gutting, ed., *Paradigms and Revolutions: Applications and Appraisals of Thomas Kuhn's Philosophy of Science* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1980).

2. The "etic-emic" distinction, and its relation to what constitutes genuine theology (pages 157ff., 203-205), is singularly unhelpful. It would mean (and isn't that a happy arrogance!) that virtually every theology ever written is not a work of theology at all. Anyone who thinks his or her way through the Scriptures, attempting to make sense of the whole, is constructing theology, whether formally and rigorously or informally and haphazardly. The vast majority of such work is done, necessarily, on an emic basis. It is certainly true to say that theology which attempts to put together the insights from several such emic contributions will be richer and probably more balanced than the contribution that any one emic theology could ever be. But that is true only if genuine synthesis takes place, rather than the mere pooling of diverse theologies. Again, as I have discussed this point at length elsewhere, I shall avoid repeating myself.[5]

3. I appreciated Professor Conn's warnings concerning the alleged "core" of the Gospel and any appeal to a "supracultural" summation. Perhaps I should mention that this is one of Kraft's major planks; and again, I discussed it at some length in the last-mentioned article. God himself is supracultural: that is, he transcends all languages and cultures. However, there is no core to what he has revealed that is supracultural: that is, all of his revelation, precisely because it is revelation, is revelation *to us*--and we are irretrievably locked in particular linguistic groups, cultural settings and the like. Even a statement such as "Jesus is Lord" is culturally bound: quite apart from the linguistic location of the statement, it means something quite different in Montreal from what it might mean in Bangkok. In the Buddhist context, it bears the implication that Jesus is inferior to Gautama the Buddha, since something is

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[5]D. A. Carson, "Church and Mission: Reflections on Contextualization and the Third Horizon," in D. A. Carson, ed., *The Church in the Bible and the World* (Exeter:Paternoster/Grand Rapids: Baker, 1987), pp. 213-257, 342-347.

still being predicated of him. I do not mean that what the Montrealer means by "Jesus is Lord" cannot be expressed to the Thai, but that there is no supracultural core embracing a number of propositions that can be readily transferred from culture to culture. The truth in the New Testament affirmation "Jesus is Lord" can be communicated to the Thai only by the rigorous processes of translation that must be part of all responsible cross-cultural communication. Once that point has been made, then Professor Conn's warnings take on additional force. We might agree that there is a "core" of fundamental biblical truth that must be accepted by any thinking person who truly becomes a Christian, but that is not to say that the core itself is supracultural. And precisely because even such points are not supracultural, it is difficult to see why points that many judge to be less central should be dismissed because they are culture-bound in their biblical expression. The point is that all truth that human beings can articulate can be communicated to other human beings in a different culture only by cross- cultural communication. Oddly enough, Professor Kraft, in this respect, is not radical enough.

4. In Professor Conn's appeals to deep structure (pages 325-327), I suspect there is a too heavy reliance on Chomsky and transformational grammar. The field of linguistics is very much broken into particular schools of thought, especially in America. I confess I much prefer the English approach to linguistics, which is much more eclectic and pragmatic. As a result, systemic linguistics is far more important in most British universities than any of the peculiar and rather idiosyncratic theories that dominate North America.

5. For all that exegesis is sometimes criticized in this book, perhaps as being too captive to "Consciousness Two" or the like, I confess that at various points I would have liked to see a little more rigor in the exegesis that is done or presupposed. On page 189, Professor Conn cites Kraft, with apparent

approval, to associate the Pharisees and the Judiazers with those "who sought to preserve expressions of God's message that were foreign to their hearers." It seems to be standard fare these days to label any position one does not like as the core of Pharisaic obtuseness. Kraft may perhaps be forgiven for this particular association, since he has already adopted a faulty understanding of the Bible as a case-book. But for someone who adopts the salvation-historical stance of Professor Conn, this charge is particularly ridiculous. The Pharisees and Judiazers were not upset, in the final analysis, over questions of cross-cultural flexibility. Their fundamental concerns focused on the authority of antecedent revelation versus the putative claims of the authority of the revelation allegedly taking place in front of their eyes. Hermeneutically, they had elevated Torah to the point where it became a grid that controlled all of their theological reflection: thus, they insisted that Abraham and Adam had obeyed the law of Moses, even though Moses had not yet appeared on the scene. Elsewhere, Professor Conn offers us a similarly misjudged interpretation of Acts 15.

6. While I am on the subject of exegesis, I must express my gratitude for the questions Professor Conn raises about the acceptability to the Third World of the "homogeneous unit principle" foudn in much church growth theory (page 124). I would be prepared to argue at some length that the attempts to ground this theory in Scripture with exegetical rigor are fatally flawed. For instance, *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* (Matthew 28:19) no more warrants evangelism on an exclusively tribal basis than *τὰς πόλεις πάσας* sanctions evangelism on an exculsively city-wide basis, *across* cultures within the city. Perhaps the attempt to justify the suitability of evangelism through homogeneous units has a certain utility at the pragmatic level in certain cultures and at certain times. Nevertheless I cannot help but mention that the theory was developed out of Dr. McGavaran's

experiences in India, where all homogeneous units, including those that are economic and tribal, are irretrievably tied to a caste system that must surely be condemned by biblically-responsible Christians. I have heard more than one Indian leader make exactly the same point. In short, although some objections coming from the Third World against the "homogeneous unit principle" *may* arise out of a conscious rejection of Western "Consciousness Two" mentality, in some instances there may be rejection for the simple and sufficient reason that many Christians are profoundly convinced that the principle is unbiblical.

7. Incidentally, the Hebrew word *emet*, to which Professor Conn refers on page 230, has an extraordinarily broad semantic range that includes both faithfulness and truthfulness. The attempt to limit the range of meaning of this word, both by conservatives and by liberals, is linguistically irresponsible. There are balanced treatments not only in NIDNTT, but in a recent article by Roger Nicole.

8. I think the term "objective" on page 233 is given an unfortunate turn. If I understand him correctly, Professor Conn means to say that theologizing can never rightly be *uncommitted*. One could go further and say that, since it is a fallen, finite human being who is doing the thinking, theologizing can never be *totally* objective. On the other hand, it *can* be objective in the sense that its subject matter, the Scripture, is objectively true, even if necessarily cast in culturally-conditioned terms.

I suppose that, more broadly, what I am after is some recognition of the theme well articulated by the Apostle Paul in 1 Corinthians 1:10: "I appeal to you, brothers, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that all of you agree with one another so that there may be no divisions among you and that you may be perfectly united in mind and thought." This and similar appeals, notably in Philippians, do not exhort the church to a "lowest common denominator" approach

to theology, but to a common understanding of the deposit of faith. The divisions in Corinth Paul attempts to rectify by correction, instruction, and rebuke. Some of those divisions could rightly be described as emerging from "cultural" differences. The assumption in Paul's appeal is that Christians who are growing in maturity will be committed to *common* understanding of the biblical revelation. Of course, this does *not* mean that Christians in Uganda should adopt as their "common understanding" the theology of Charles Hodge. It *does* mean that Christians around the world, in joyous submission to the Lord Jesus Christ and in obedient response to the revelation that has been given, necessarily think through that revelation in the matrix of their own cultural and linguistic heritage, and then in a responsible hermeneutical spiral, progressively approach a more and more accurate understanding of the text, while willingly being corrected and correcting those from different heritages who are engaged in a similar quest, with the end in view that we should "be perfectly united in mind and thought." There is much more I would like to say along these lines. The least that must be said is that while we struggle with questions of contextualization we must not sacrifice this Pauline *desideratum*--a *desideratum* based on the teaching of the Lord Jesus himself.

9. Finally, I was encouraged by a number of the suggestions made by Professor Conn in the chapter on theological education. I can think of a number of other models that have been usefully adopted in various parts of the world--*e.g.*, the SEMBEQ model found in Montreal, combining TEE with modular courses, a modified term system, and an apprenticeship program "Serviteurs en Formacion," that produced and is producing remarkably mature leaders astonishingly quickly. What is perhaps missing from this chapter, however, is the recognition that many Third World leaders are not only seeking to train pastors in rapidly-growing churches but are also seeking to found institutions

where excellence and high academic performance are the watchwords. One thinks, for example, of the AEAM effort to establish NEGST and BEST. It is commonly said in Africa that the pew is higher than the pulpit. The cream of the crop of the next generation of potential leaders is therefore whisked away to other forms of work and service, because there are still too few leaders around who exemplify both godliness and learning. Ironically, these pressures encourage the church to look for institutions that offer prolonged training in a rigorously academic setting. I do not claim that these are the only legitimate concerns of the church: it seems to me that we ought to aim for flexibility and a wide variety of educational models, depending on the particular place in culture and history in which a church finds itself. Not a few of my friends in theological education and in TEE programs and various modular settings in the Third World engage in a kind of enthusiastic Western seminary bashing--only to ask again and again if the Western professor in these schools can come out and lecture for a few weeks or a term. They cannot have it both ways.

Again, my thanks and warm appreciation to Professor Conn.

Moffett

A Critical Review of Harvie M. Conn's Eternal Word and Changing Worlds.

by Tite Tienou, Associate Professor
of Theology and Missiology
Alliance Theological Seminary,
Nyack, New York.

I am very grateful for the opportunity of rereading and reflecting on Harvie Conn's important contribution to the on going conversation on the nature of the theological enterprise in global perspective.

I want to note, at the outset, my great appreciation to Harvie for his insights. I have learned much from him and have found his treatment to be among the best presentations in the available literature. I was privileged to hear some of the material in oral form when Harvie delivered the 1980 Church Growth Lectures at Fuller Theological Seminary. I was eagerly awaiting the more detailed printed version when Eternal Word and Changing Worlds was finally released in 1984. I was, then particularly intrigued with the subtitle: Theology, Anthropology and Mission in Trialogue. I promptly purchased the book, read it and recommended it to students and colleagues. I say all of this here so that the following critical remarks might not be viewed as evidence of a completely negative reaction to the book. My purpose is not to destroy and tear down. Rather my intention is to contribute to the sharpening of the issues for our discussion. At any rate, I do not think that I was asked to just sing the praises of this wonderful book and congratulate its author!

The major strength of Eternal Word and Changing Worlds lies, in my opinion, in its Part One. Harvie Conn's analysis is penetrating here as he examines the beginnings and early stages of the uneasy cohabitation of theology and the social sciences. He clearly shows the many frustrations of those involved in the dialogue. Yet, what he calls Consciousness One and Consciousness Two are not so much historical periods as they are mind sets. That Consciousness One and Consciousness Two are not clearly demarcated in history is shown in the fact that much of contemporary evangelical missiology (in the U.S.) functions with either Consciousness One or Consciousness Two depending on the "School of Mission", denomination or mission board. Conn himself seems to recognize that when he notes that he does not see radical progress in ideas of language (p.113). If this is true, can one really discern, as Conn does beginning with chapter four, a movement toward Consciousness Three?

I find Conn's treatment of present discussion and his projection of the contours of Consciousness Three rather disappointing and not far-reaching enough. Perhaps the reason for my disappointment comes from Conn's choice of dialogue partners in this section of the book. In this day of globalization of theological education, it is rather unfortunate that Conn converses only with either theologians from the Reformed tradition or missiologists of the North-Atlantic. There are, to be sure, passing references to other people. But they are more part of the scenery than meaningful dialogue partners. I regret that, because of this, the discussion remains provincial. But I shall return to this later.

I will focus the remainder of my comments on selected issues, without necessarily following logical sequencing. ~~In~~ 5 Anthropology the third partner in the trialogue?

I have already mentioned the fact that the book's subtitle caught my attention. It raises a number of questions such as: Does the subtitle adequately describe the contents? How does the author define the terms if they are important in his argumentation? More specifically, for our purposes here, how should we understand the author's uses of the word anthropology?

Conn seems to suggest a narrow definition of anthropology when he restricts it to cultural anthropology (p.10). Yet a closer look reveals that a broader understanding may, at times, be implied. After all his survey includes linguists, psychologists, philosophers, comparative religionists, etc..., especially in Part One. I am not suggesting that Conn is wrong in including the thought of scholars who are not, technically, cultural anthropologists. I am only pointing out that, instead of anthropology, he should have used an expression such as social sciences. Clearly during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Christian movement was dealing with the social sciences in general and not with cultural anthropology in particular. The input from cultural anthropology, as such, is rather recent. Conn is, of course, aware of that (see pp. 130, 133, 134 and 138).

I am not disputing the fact that what began in the eighteenth century as a general theory and philosophy of human history eventually gave rise to anthropology as a separate discipline in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is nevertheless certain that in the eighteenth century and most of the nineteenth, the dialogue was between social science as public philosophy (Bellah et al 1985: 298, 299) and theology.

It is instructive to note that in our time, cultural anthropology and theology have yet to engage in serious dialogue. Witness the January 1985 issue of Theology Today devoted to explorations of the relationship between theology and anthropology. Even C.H. Kraft, one of Conn's major participants in the trialogue, could not hide his disappointment in the article he contributed to that issue. He concludes his essay with these words:

> Though it is not uncommon to find persons on theological faculties with sociological or psychological training, it is rare to find those with the broader, cross-cultural perspectives of anthropology (except among those teaching missions). I would hope that the benefits of such input would lead to an improvement of this situation in the years to come (1985:400).

Evangelical Missionary Anthropology: Unfit for dialogue with Theology?

Conn notes (p.136) that applied missionary anthropology "is without a doubt a principal factor behind the new trialogue". The problem here is that missionary anthropology became possible only with the rise of applied anthropology. And applied anthropology itself must be understood in the general context of the social sciences becoming more science and less public

philosophy (cf. Conn p.139 and Bellah et al. 1985: 299). Applied anthropology is more neutral philosophically (not ideologically) and therefore more usable by Christian missionaries. To complicate matters further, even as Conn reminds us,

> The American cultural theme of pragmatism combines with the drive for evangelization to ask "how" rather than "why" questions. The mission field becomes a living laboratory in this quest (Conn p.140).

Theology, in my mind, asks "what" and "why" questions before dealing with "how." That is why, in a real sense, missionary anthropology may be unfit for dialogue with theology.

Indigenization, Contextualization or Ethnotheology?

In dealing with what he calls "perilous currents in the tide" (chapter five) Conn rightly calls attention to difficulties with what term to use for the coming trialogue. He notes that ethnotheology has failed to be widely used by evangelicals. He even adds that though the concerns of ethnotheology were the object of the 1982 Consultation of Third World Theologians, they did not use the term. The reason is quite simple: those of us who called the meeting and participated in it were not missionaries and were not (are not) interested in developing ethnic theologies. The neologism ethnotheology should be given a proper funeral!

I agree with Conn that evangelicals tend to use contextualization and indigenization interchangeably. Indeed many prefer indigenization as safer.

What is the reason for this? Justin S. Ukpong's recent clarification may be of help here. He proposes contextualization as a more general category with two basic typologies within it: the indigenization typology and the socio-economic typology (1987:163). Ukpong states:

> The Indigenization typology is informed by what may be called a context-as-subject paradigm. This is a frame of mind whereby the researcher identifies with the community, focuses on its religio-cultural pattern of social relations and seeks to discover its enduring values for the purpose of cross-cultural communication of the gospel message (1987:164)

Ukpong further refines his analysis by dividing the indigenization typology into two models: the translation model and the inculturation model. He contends that the translation model is more useful for practical areas like music, liturgy and less fruitful in the area of theologizing. The translation model is preoccupied, as it were, with how to preserve the constant without being too obviously foreign. On the other hand, Ukpong argues that the inculturation model's purpose is to rethink "the Christian message in the light of the local cultural background and re-expressing it in terms of the local cultural idiom" (1987:166 see also p.165). I submit that evangelicals may have a congenital disposition against the inculturation model as Ukpong defines it. We are not really prepared to let God make his word create a new thing without the control of our theologies. As long as this remains evangelicals will allow culture to affect theology extrinsically and not intrinsically. To this end they will prefer indigenization for this term conveys the possibility of separating cultural expressions from authentic biblical revelation.

Are we forced to choose between Biblical theology or Systematic theology?

I see echoes of the typical debate between missiologists and theologians in Conn's pages 225 to 229 where he discusses Biblical theology as one of the criteria for doing theology. It is customary to extol the virtues of Biblical theology and point to the ideological, methodological and epistemological captivity of systematic theology. We are even told that systematic theology is hopelessly western (cf. Conn p.225 and 228) and that biblical theology can be a challenge from the Third World. How quickly we forget the history of what we now call systematic theology! Eastern Christians as well as Africans provided us with the foundations of the discipline. It is therefore improper to characterize systematic theology "Western" when said adjective means White, Anglo-saxon, etc...I am not as optimistic as missiologists" that biblical theology can provide a way of escape" (Conn p.227). Indeed what we have today is what has always been: competing systems of theology, each seeking to be more convincing than the other. I am particularly shocked at the presence of Le'vy-Bruhl's ghost in this discussion...

There can be no Consciousness Three without meaningful participation from the so-called Third World!

Conn's agenda for Consciousness Three (Paradigm and Worldview; Myth and Symbolism; Relativism) has appeal only to professional missiologists. It thereby reinforces what Conn deplored earlier: "Contextualization, as a missionary demand of theologizing, is relegated to the non-Western 'mission

field'" (p.221). Is that not the reason why those of us who want to do serious reflection on theology in our countries can only do so in "Schools of missions" or under the guidance of former missionaries and not in "schools of theology" or with bona fide theologians? And as long as Third World theologians are graduates of "schools of mission" they will not be taken seriously by the North-Atlantic theological establishment. Therein lies the dilemma of many of us.

I am merely suggesting that it is premature to see the dawning of a Consciousness Three. It cannot happen when what we see is basically a dialogue between applied anthropology and mission (yes why does Conn use missions in the text of the book?). It cannot happen when Western specialists can summarize the theological concerns of a continent such as Africa in five short lines! (Conn p.254).

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1985 "Cultural Anthropology: Its Meaning for Christian Theology" Theology Today, Vol. XLI, No.4 (January).

Ukpong, J.S.

1987 "What is Contextualization?" Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, 43/3.

dynamic equivalence theory - Nida + Reuben knock off from it

Moffett

FOUR STAGES IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR MISSIONS

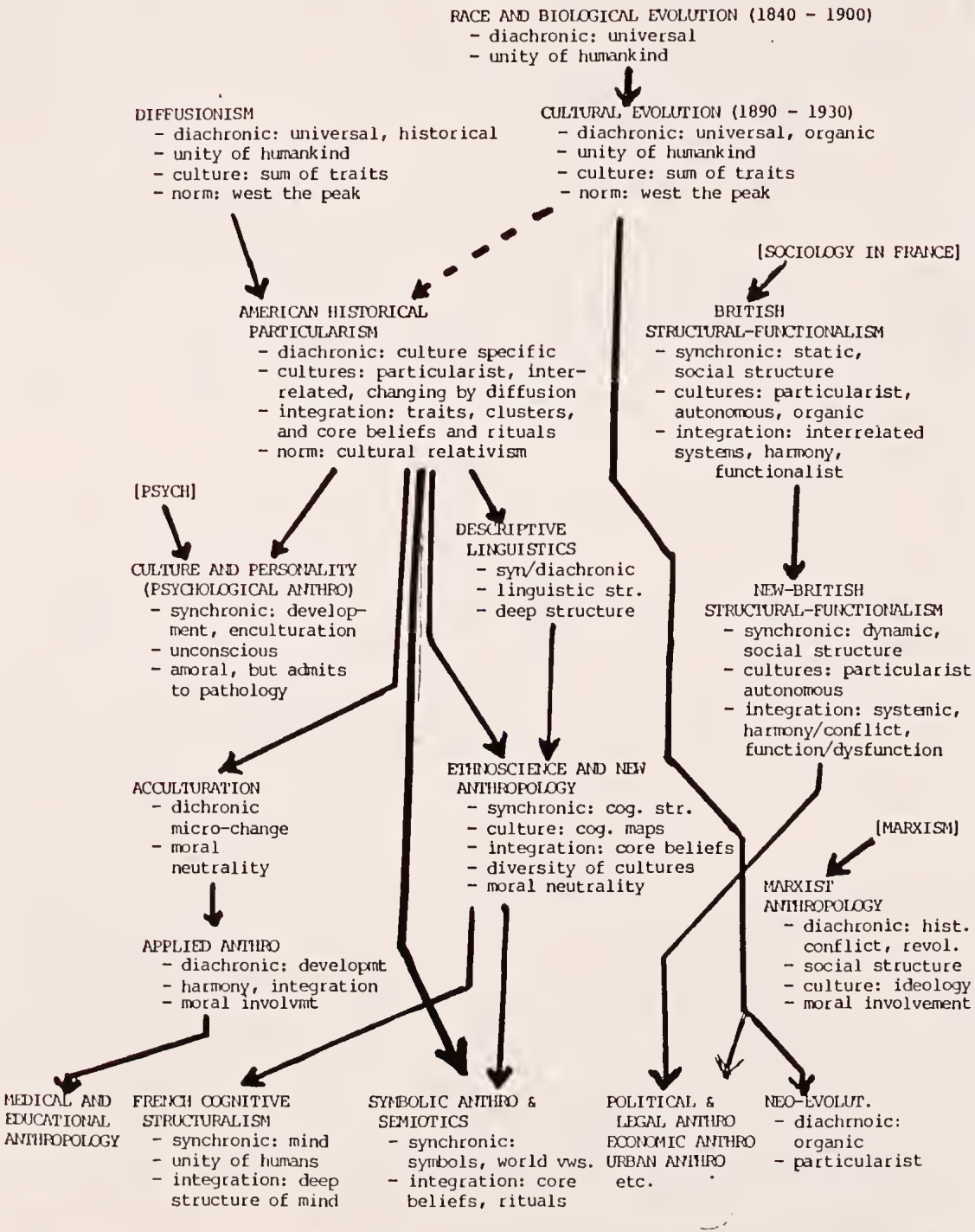
EPISTEMOLOGY	SCIENTIFIC WORLDVIEW	ANTHROPOLOGY	MISSIONS
CONSCIOUSNESS ONE: BIOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL EVOLUTION			
Naive Realism: - knowledge is a photograph of reality - it is objective - there is a 1:1 correspondence with reality - the test is truth which is objective, timeless and acultural - truth is cognitive - there is no place for feeling or subjectivity - truth is based on experience and reason - value judgments must be made on the basis of scientific values	Scientist (subject: cog.) People (objects) - unity of humanity & human history - west the standard - form = meaning - neoPlatonic dualism - materialism - reductionist	Grand Unifying Theories (GUTs) - comparative approach - diachronic - etic - view from above - deterministic models - laws of history: biological and sociocultural - evolution of body and mind - culture = the sum of traits, emphasis on technology - religion = primitive mentality	Colonial Missions - parental attitude - equation of Gospel with western culture - formal Bible translations - rejection of old cultures and rites - importation of Wester ways - Gospel often foreign
CONSCIOUSNESS TWO: A: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY			
Naive Realism: - positivism or naive realism claimed for scientific theories - science seen as supracultural and ahistorical - above culture and history - people seen primarily as the products of their social or cultural settings	Scientist (subject: cog.) People (sociocultural beings) - all cultures and societies are good - stress diversity of humanity and cultures - reductionist - form // meaning - neoPlatonic dualism	Social Particularism - social determinism - organic view of society - emphasize differences between societies and cultures - study each by itself - emic approach - see it from within - stress functional nature of societies and integration of cultures - synchronic or short range diachronic theories - social relativism - religion = social glue	Anti-Colonialism - emphasize the good in all cultures - see what God is doing in each culture and build on it - uncritical contextualization - dynamic equivalence translation - stop exporting western ways - work within homogeneous groupings

Kuhn – 'We can no longer speak of truth; we can only speak of usefulness.'

But as Berger notes – this only absolutizes relativism.

Moffett

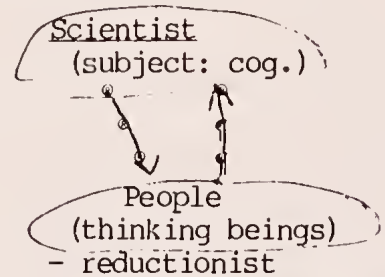
BRIEF HISTORY OF DIFFERENT SCHOOLS OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEORY



EPISTEMOLOGICAL FOUNDATION	STANCE ON CONTEXTUALIZATION
POSITIVISM: Anthro seen as: - acultural - ahistorical - absolute, univer. - morally involved Culture seen as: - one whole for all humans	NON-CONTEXTUAL-IZATION: - West seen as the norm - other cultures seen as evil
TRANSITION: Anthro seen as: - acultural - ahistorical - universally true Cultures seen as: - autonomous - diverse - morally neutral, relative	UNCRITICAL CON-TEXTUALIZATION - West rejected as normative - all cultures seen as basic-ally good
INSTRUMENTALISM Anthro seen as: - cultural - historical - western Culture seen as: - diverse - morally neutral	
CRITICAL REALISM Sees anthro as: - a metacultural analytical grid - moral involvmt Sees culture as: - good and evil	CRITICAL CONTEXTUALIZATION - all cultures good and bad - all must be tested against the Gospel

CONSCIOUSNESS THREE: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Instrumentalism:
- knowledge is a rorschach
- cannot speak of truth
- the test is utility
- the focus is on problem solving and technique phenomenological
- science must be understood in its historical and cultural setting
- theoretical relativism



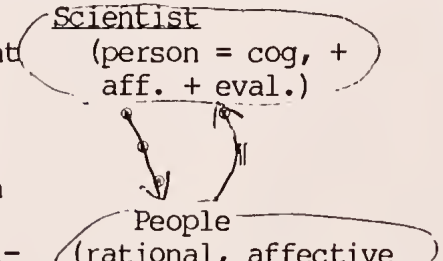
- reductionist
- neoPlatonic dualism
- form // meaning
- nonjudgmentive

Cultural Particularism
- organic model of culture
- stress diversity
- anthropolog's task is cross-cultural hermeneutics
- ethnoscience
- stress rational, cognitive nature of humans
- cultual relativism

Anti-Colonialism
- cultures are basically good
- maintain old cultures as much as possible, seek minimum change
- dynamic equivalence Bible translation
- test of pragmatism: truth based on experience and feelings

CONSCIOUSNESS FOUR: THEORETICAL DIVERSITY + COMPLIMENTARITY

ritical realism:
- knowledge is a map or blueprint
- it is objective + subjective
- it is embedded in worldviews
- it is paradigmatic in nature
- it is approximate - we know in part, but we can know truth
- various blueprints must compliment each other - controductions must be resolved
- complimentarity of: diachronic/synchronic; science/theology social/cultural/biological; etc.
- nonHegelian dialectic leading to closer approximations of truth



- wholistic, nonreduc.
- forms related to meanings in complex ways
- cultures are both good and evil

Theoretical Pluralism/Complim.
- emic analysis - hermaneutics + etic comparative analysis - using metacultural grids
- stress cognitive, affective and evaluative culture
- reject cultural relativism
- explore a multiplicityu of models
- judge after understanding a culture

Post-Colonial Missions
- incarnational
- mutual submission
- Gospel ≠ culture
- Gospel encompasses culture
- wholistic
- self-theologizing + seeking a transcultural theology by means of meta-theological dialogue

Summer 1986

TSFM NEWSLETTER

Theological Students For Frontier Missions P.O. Box 12142 Arlington, VA 22209

CONTEXTUALIZATION

-by KENNETH MULHOLLAND

About 55 A.D. the Apostle Paul wrote to the Church in Corinth, "I have become all things to all men so that by all possible means I may save some. I do all this for the sake of the gospel . . ."

Nearly two thousand years later, April 4-6, 1986, seminarians from around the United States gathered to wrestle with the same issue addressed by the Apostle to the Gentiles: contextualization. The occasion was the fifth annual national conference of Theological Students for Frontier Missions (TSFM) held at the United States Center for World Missions (USCWM) in Pasadena, California.

Contextualization is a new and perhaps more precise term for an issue that has been inherent in the missionary task from the beginning. "The issue," explains Dr. Terry C. Hulbert of the Columbia Graduate School of Bible and Missions, "is . . . a tension between the absolute truth of Scripture . . . and the expression and application of that truth for and by peoples in very different cultural settings (1981:71)." Both faithfulness to the text of Scripture and relevance to the cultural setting are essential. If churches capable of evangelizing their own cultural unit are to be established among the world's unreached people groups, the Gospel must be communicated in terms meaningful and significant to the receptor.

Contextualization goes beyond indigenization. Churches have been considered indigenous if they were self-governing (administered their own affairs), self-supporting (paid their own way) and self-propigating (evangelized their own people). Yet many churches which met these three criteria were still grotesquely foreign transplants. Their music, customs, religious language, and architecture reflected the customs and culture of the founding missionaries more than the cultural patterns of the people among whom the church had been planted. Often, because of failure to put roots down in its culture, the growth of a church faltered as people viewed the act of becoming a Christian as more of a cultural than a religious decision. The very foreignness of the church became a greater obstacle to authentic repentance and faith than the offense of the cross itself.

The current emphasis upon contextualization is not without its dangers. Contextualization can drift into syncretism: the union of two opposite forces, beliefs, systems, or tenets into a new synthesis which is neither one nor the other. For instance, should Islamic worship patterns continue in Muslim-convert churches? Does the lack of Trinitarian precision in the theology of Messianic Judaism betray Biblical revelation? At what point does Christian Marxism become neither Christian nor Marxism?

Continued, next page ...

CONTEXTUALIZATION

MULHOLLAND Continued ...

A number of missions leaders gathered with the TSFMers in Pasadena in order to help the students grapple with the issue of contextualization. Plenary speakers included Drs. Jonathan Chao (Chinese Research Center), Ralph Winter (USCWM), Donald McGavran (Fuller) and Art Glasser (Fuller). Workshops were led by Drs. Warren Chastain (Zwemer Institute), Margaret Kraft (Biola), McGavran and Glasser. Drs. Ken Mulholland (Columbia) and Mike Pocock (TEAM) participated with Chao and Winter in a lively panel discussion.

Both Chao and Glasser analyzed the amazing growth of the Christian Church in China since the Communist takeover in 1949. With 26% of the world's non-Christian population within her borders, China, argued Chao, is the world's most important mission field. While political changes, prayer, radio broadcasts beamed from outside the country, and the importation of Bibles all contributed to a climate for growth, a key appears to be the raising up on young itinerant preachers inspired by the example of faithful older leaders who have walked the pathway of the cross.

Glasser pointed TSFMers to Hebrews 1:1 as the classic Biblical paradigm on contextualization. "Jesus did not become a universal man, but a first century Jew under the power of imperial Rome," he affirmed, "and Jesus Christ must become Chinese to the Chinese." How can Christianity be made Chinese? Employing his vast knowledge of the history of missions, Glasser traced how missionaries met the challenge of contextualization during each of the five historical epochs in which Christian mission penetrated China for the purpose of Gospel witness.

McGavran, now 89 years of age and widely regarded as the founder of the modern Church Growth Movement, spoke for more than an hour with neither note nor pause. Drawing heavily upon his many years of missionary experience in India, he explained that on the sub-continent one must contextualize socially, but not religiously. Citing the caste system as an example, he stressed that while adapting to the outward norms of a given society, it is necessary to undermine the theological foundations of those cultural practices which are contrary to the Word of God.

Winter expressed his reservations regarding the term "contextualization" and his preference for the older terms, "indigenization" and "enculturation." He contrasted the sense of peoplehood possessed by most of the earth's population with North American individualism. And he stressed the importance of such people movements in order for genuine contextualization to occur.

Students also shared what God was doing at their various campuses around the nation. Student movements focusing on frontier missions appeared to be particularly healthy at Gordon-Conwell, Trinity, Dallas, International School of Theology, Fuller, Denver, Biola/Talbot, and Columbia Graduate School.

A lively panel discussion on Saturday evening and a meaningful Sunday morning communion service led by TSFM General Director Bill Campbell (Princeton) and outgoing board member Jim Beates (Gordon-Conwell) brought the conference weekend to a close.

NOTES

1 Terry C. Hulbert, World Missions Today. Wheaton: Evangelical Teachers Training Association, 1981.

Dr. Kenneth Mulholland, a TSFM board member, is Assistant Dean and Professor of Missions at Columbia Graduate School of Bible and Missions, Columbia, S.C. He has ministered in Honduras, Costa Rica, and Guatemala in theological education and has pastored in the U.S. He has written on the topics of missiology, counseling and pastoral ministry.

Taj Brooke: Challenge of Contextualization in India
EC 41 - Fall 1985

EARLIER PROTESTANT ETHNOCENTRISM AND CULTURAL CONFUSION

Duncan Forrester, of the School of Asian Studies at the University of Sussex, and former teacher in Madras, notes that "Anglo-Saxon Protestant missionaries did not, of course, come empty-handed, or empty-headed, to India. The Bible which they brought, and quickly translated, was understood in the light of specific and conscious theological commitments, and beyond that they brought expectations, attitudes, presuppositions, hopes and prejudices, some of which seemed to them (but not to us, or to their Indian contacts) axiomatic, and of others of which they were usually unconscious. The early Anglo-Saxon Protestants had far less by way of a sophisticated and systematic theory of society and culture and their relation to religion than did the Roman Catholics or the Lutherans of the Leipzig Society, and this helps account for elements of uncertainty, or even plain muddle, in their attempts to develop an understanding of cast."[12]

These early missionaries came with rather simple theology, the social implications of which had to be worked out on the field. Forester declares, "Only gradually did they become aware that caste was a major and unavoidable issue."[13] Forrester cites

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12. Forrester, Duncan. CASTE AND CHRISTIANITY London: Curzon Press Ltd., 1980. pp. 193-194

13. Ibid., p. 194.

the example of the Early English Dissenters such as the Serampore Baptists who came, for the most part, from the "ranks of skilled mechanics." About them Syndey Smith once noted scornfully, "Why do such religious embassies...devolve upon the lowest of the people?...If a tinker is a devout man, he infallibly sets off for the East."[14] Indeed among aristocratic and educated Englishmen, Forrester observes, there was considerable disquiet about the "dangerous social, religious and political consequences of allowing men from the lower ranks of society deeply infected with radical, eccentric, and Jacobin views to attempt to propagate the Gospel in India."[15]

The egalitarian orientation which these lower class missionaries carried with them had developed as a result of their resentment at the restraints of class in England.[16] Thus they were predisposed to question the social order of India, not the least of which was its elaborate and foundational caste system, the bane of many a missionary. Of this caste obstacle, John Thomas, whose work in Bengal inspired Carey to join him, noted as a result of his experience in the 1780's, that caste was "One of the most cursed engines that ever the devil invented to enslave

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14. Ibid., p. 194.

15. Ibid., p. 194.

16. Ibid., p. 194.

17. Ibid., p. 197.

the souls of men."[17] In part Thomas was speaking out of the individualism permitted him by his own culture and which was characteristic of the evangelical movement from which he sprang. But as far as caution and farsightedness goes, he was not necessarily 'as wise as a serpent.'

Indeed, one wishes that these early English missionaries had the restraint and foresight to deal in homogeneous units in the way Christiaan Kayser did in Papua New Guinea as he waited for entire tribes to come to faith before baptizing any of them. He knew that to deal on an individual level of such closely knit homogeneous units would mortally wound the overall body of the homogeneous unit, the tribe. That either they would all come, or only a few would come and no more would venture forward while those few would be persecuted and cut off.[18]

Instead, the early English Missionaries, more often than not, succumbed to individual conversions, ignoring the homogeneous units of local caste affiliations. And this became a painful sight as John Thomas reported of his nineteenth century efforts:

> The greatest difficulty in spreading the gospel in Bengal arises from the caste: for all who are baptized, and partake of the bread and wine with us, WILL LOSE CASTE; and when a man has lost caste, his most intimate friends and nearest relations will forsake him for ever. He cannot possibly be restored by any means; and the meanest Hindu, from that time, refuses to eat,

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18. Dr. Samuel Moffett, Missions lecture, EC 41. (from A. Vicedom)

of the latter is the ontological question at the very core of virtually all religions. Put simply, religious words are potent with special meaning and offer a special challenge.

What is frightening is that there may be only a hair's breadth between a dynamic equivalent that is successful and one that borrows too much from prior meanings to the point of syncretism. For instance, in referring to Christ as an "Avatar" to many Hindus simply puts Christ in a long line of pantheistic divine incarnations and closes them off from seeing him as unique and fully of a different genus and species from their own.

Paul Hiebert illustrates what the challenge of dynamic equivalent communications can entail after describing other contextual differences between India and the United States. Hiebert observes that Americans, for instance, "divide their concepts of living beings into a number of discrete categories. At the top is God who, in Christian tradition, is categorically different from all other beings. He is creator, they creation."[23] Hiebert then goes on to add that to Indians, 'all life is one' and that there is a continuum from simple creatures to gods, with differences in degree and not kind. Therefore they make no sharp distinctions between people and animals, and almost all of them would place

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23. Glasser, Arthur; Hiebert, Paul; Wagner, Peter; Winter, Ralph. CRUCIAL DIMENSIONS IN WORLD EVANGELISM. Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1976. p. 55.

24. Ibid., p. 56.

the sacred cow on par with human life.[24]

Hiebert then observes, "When a United States development agent suggested Indians kill many of their cows and eat them, the people reacted much as we might if an Indian suggested we solve our poverty problems by shooting the poor."[25]

Hiebert then applies the dilemma of cultural differences to the problem of translation in light of dynamic equivalence. He says:

> Beginning in Genesis we read, "In the beginning God..." The question is, how shall we translate the word "God"? In Telugu, a south Indian language, we can use the words "Isvarudu," "Devudu," "Bhaghavanthudu," or a number of others. The problem is that each of these carries the Hindu connotation that gods have exactly the same kind of life as human beings, only more of it. They are not categorically different from people. There is no word that carries the same connotations as the Biblical concept of God.

Yet, to illustrate even more that there is no single formula for India, as far as the issue of contextualization goes, the above passage would meet utterly different problems when it came to translating it for some of the North Indian tribal groups such as the Bataks or the Nagas or, for that matter, some of the animist groups in the Nilgiri Hills. The issue then would be finding a large enough analogue for God to surpass their highest animistic gods, an entirely different type of challenge conceptually.

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25. Ibid., p. 56.

Going back to the issue of communicating the concept of the Biblical God to Hindus and finding some sort of dynamic equivalent, Hiebert notes that even if we were to invent a new word for God or "incarnation" the people still would not understand it. And if we then were to use one of the Telugu words we still would face the danger that the Biblical message would be seriously distorted.[26] The greatest distortion being the consequent syncretism of the Christian God with the Hindu concept.

Syncretism is a special problem with Hinduism, for it naturally tends to amalgamate other religions within its system. Thus the problem of maintaining Christian distinctions within the Indian context is yet an added problem to the issue of contextualization. And this can even carry into the rituals and habits of daily life, which to the Hindu mind are often endued with religious meaning. The customary greeting, "Namaste," for instance involves prayerfully pointing the hands towards the other person. But what it really means is "the divinity within me honors the divinity within you." Its root is pantheistic. Even though some say this greeting has become secularized, yet still it carries a lingering notion.

Indian Christian converts are rightfully jealous of maintaining their own cultural distinctions without becoming

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26. Ibid., p. 57.

westernized. One Indian Christian leader, E. Asirvathan, has observed: "...it is no exaggeration to say that Christianity is still not completely acclimatized to Indian conditions....In food, dress, manner of speech, and social customs, many Indian Christians are hybrid. This foreignness is even more clearly marked in the realms of church art, of architecture, of music, and of worship and thought forms."[27]

Yet Asirvathan later crossed the fatal threshold in which his efforts of contextualization headed directly into syncretism. When he later went on to explore new Christian hymns he applauded another Indian leader, Bishop Appasamy, who borrowed directly from Hindu Scripture in writing TEMPLE BELLS. Of this, Asirvathan said, "It is regrettable that a collection of such prayers/hymns...has not yet found its way into Christian Worship to any extent. Suitable selections can be taken from the UPANISHADS, BHAGAVAD GITA, BHAGAVATA, and from the epics of India."[28] To the previously Hindu mind now converted, which has been used to amalgamating other spiritualities, such pantheistic "Christian Hymns" can only serve to blur the distinctiveness of the Christian faith while bringing back all the old associations: a Vedic Hymn is a Vedic Hymn! Had Paul admonished the Corinthians to incorporate hymns to Diana, he would have lost the church, and

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27. Asirvathan, E.. CHRISTIANITY IN THE INDIAN CRUCIBLE. Calcutta: YMCA Publishing House, 1957. p. 156.

28. Ibid., p. 162.

A Working Document Towards a Christian Approach to Ancestor Practices

The Consultation on the Christian Response to Ancestor Practices, held in Taipei, Taiwan, from December 26–31, 1983, drew together 98 evangelical participants from nine countries in Asia.

The Consultation discussed the issue of ancestor practices from the biblical, historical and practical dimensions. We recognize the agony of those Christians in Asia who are confronted with ancestor practices. Therefore, the handling of this issue is crucial for the life and witness of the church in Asia today.

The following specific issues were the major ones highlighted:

1. The problems center around the psychological, social and cultural problems of individual Christians in relationship to their non-Christian families.
2. The practice of ancestor worship creates a barrier between the local congregation and the wider community, making effective evangelism more difficult.
3. The issue also has a wider dimension, for Christians in Asia have had a history of persecution where they have been forced to decide whether they would obey God or the political authority. This is not just an issue of the past but a present and future possibility.

Historical Perspectives

When Christianity was propagated in such countries as China, Japan and Korea, ancestor practices came forward as one of the most critical problems which Christianity had to face. While there were times when Christian churches took a favorable attitude toward ancestor practices as a desirable ethico-social propriety, there were times when churches took a critical attitude toward ancestor practices as idolatry.

In the case of China, when the Jesuit missionaries took a favorable attitude toward the deep-rooted Chinese tradition of ancestor practices for about 100 years from the beginning of the 17th century, their churches increased. And when the Roman Catholic Church in China took a critical attitude for the following 200 years from the beginning of the 18th century, churches declined and almost disappeared. And again when the early conservative Protestant missionaries took a critical attitude, although it produced a significant number of conversions, it also caused a stumbling block to the Chinese, for it was regarded as an imperialistic enforcement over against this unique Chinese tradition. And when some missionaries took rather a favorable attitude, while it took away this hindrance, it is not clear to what extent it influenced the rate of church growth in China.

In the case of Korea, when Roman Catholic Church took a critical attitude toward the Korean Confucian propriety of ancestor practices at the last quarter of the 18th century, it met strong resistance from government and society in general. When the Roman Catholic Church took a favorable attitude

from the beginning of World War II, this obstacle was removed, making it easier for the church to adapt itself to the Korean society. This accommodation did not, however, necessarily bring church growth. And when Protestant Christianity was propagated in Korea 100 years ago, it took a critical attitude from the very beginning and caused a stumbling block. It did not, however, necessarily hinder church growth; rather, it became one of the elements which seems to have accelerated evangelism. Such a radical decision provided the new converts with a sense of new identity and mission.

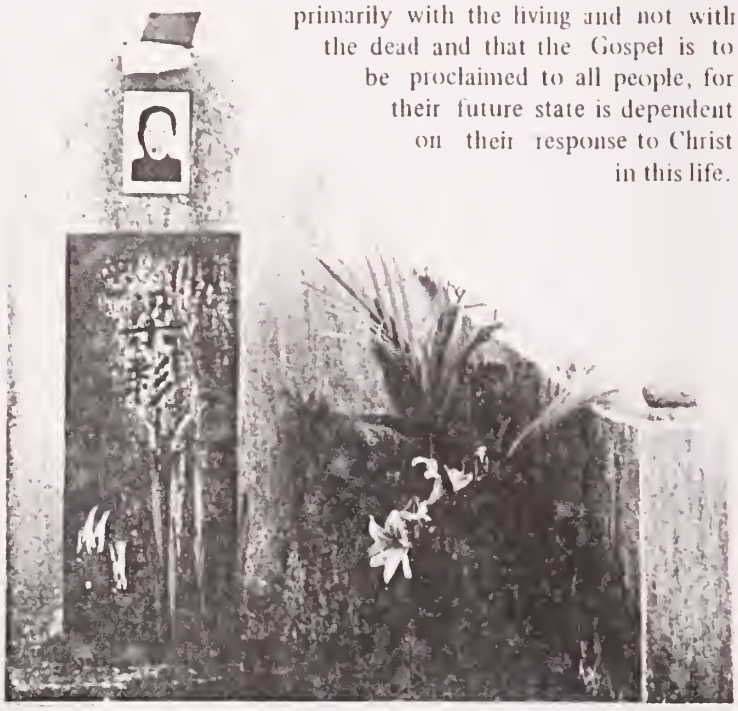
While there are signs of weakening of the Confucian tradition in a modern secularized society, the tradition of ancestor worship still causes agonizing problems to the new converts in most of the Asian countries. There are also signs of resurgence of traditional cultural nationalism in Asia; and there are tendencies in the liberal theological movement to attempt to accommodate Christianity to various religio-cultural traditions.

It is time that we evangelicals be aware of these current trends and be equipped to deal properly with the difficult problem of ancestor practices and the issue of the relationship between Christ and culture.

Biblical Perspectives

We affirm that the Bible is the final authoritative and fully inspired Word of God. Therefore, we seek to be faithful to the Bible in discussing commands and principles to guide us in our Christian response to ancestor practices.

We affirm that the biblical concern is primarily with the living and not with the dead and that the Gospel is to be proclaimed to all people, for their future state is dependent on their response to Christ in this life.



In the Bible the extended family of parents, children, and near relatives is the basic unit of society in decision-making and action, as also can be seen in the cultures of Asia. Therefore, filial piety and unity are central to our concern. The human family belongs to the order of creation and is common to all peoples. However, the family in Christ has a new and added dimension. Such families live in the two dimensions of a vertical relationship to God and a horizontal relationship to one another and to the world. The Christian family shares in the covenant blessings God has for His people. Husbands and wives are to live in interdependence, and children are a gift of God. Parents are to love and provide for their children, instructing them in their duties to God and to their neighbors (Gen. 18:19; Deut 6:6–9; Eph. 6:4). Children are to honor their parents (Ex. 20:12; Eph. 6:1–3).

The Ten Commandments and their interpretation in the New Testament are basic to the nature of our response to ancestor practices. These commandments are to be obeyed in love and with thankfulness to God in response to God's sovereign love and mercy to us. The first commandments assert the uniqueness of God and the rejection of all other gods, denounce idolatry in all forms, and warn against the misuse of the name of God. It is in this context that the fifth (counted by some the fourth) commandment states: "Honor your father and your mother, so that you may live long in the land the Lord your God is giving you" (Ex. 20:12). This commandment carries with it the blessing of long life and inheritance. Therefore, if we seek to love, honor and worship God with all our being, we will also want to honor and respect our parents.

The covenant blessings and curses are not limited to the present family but extend from generation to generation. God declares, "I the Lord your God am a jealous God, punishing the children for the sins of the fathers to the third and fourth generation of those who hate me, but showing love to thousands who love me and keep my commandments" (Ex. 20:5f). Thus, there is a continuity between the generations. The sense of being united with one's family in death was strong among the patriarchal generations as is seen in the repeated reference to the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

When a family as a whole or as individual members turns to Christ in faith, they are born again of the Holy Spirit and Christ becomes their head. All of their relationships and actions are governed by their obedience to Christ. Members submit to one another out of reverence for Christ (Eph. 5:21–33). This new loyalty to Christ transcends all other loyalties. In some cases it demands the painful decision to disobey parents, clan leaders, or those who rule over us (Ezek. 20:18–20; Act 5:29). Such

decisions should only be made humbly and after careful study and consultation with other Christians and church leaders. Even in such situations, however, honor to parents and other leaders should be maintained with humility and gratefulness to God.

Death is a radical break with life, and there is no possibility of returning to life. Ultimately, death must be understood as the consequence or wages of sin (Rom. 6:23). All people share in Adam's death which followed his sinful disobedience (Rom. 5:12). Paul states that the sting of death is sin (I Cor. 15:56) Men and women in all their being are sinful and are subject to the judgment and wrath of God (Heb. 9:27).

God in His wisdom has progressively revealed through the Bible the nature of death. The Old Testament term *sheol* is used for the grave, for the place to which all go in death (Gen. 42:38; Hosea 13:14), and for the abode of the wicked (Num. 16:30; Ps. 9:17) and of the good (Gen. 37:35). Job described *sheol* as the place of no return, the land of gloom and deep shadow and disorder (Job 10:21f). In the New Testament the Greek work *hades* is used in much the same sense but with an emphasis on judgment and punishment as in the story of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:23f). The final destination and state of the dead is described as hell or heaven. On the final judgment day we will all appear before Christ and be judged according to our response to Him in this life (II Cor. 5:10).

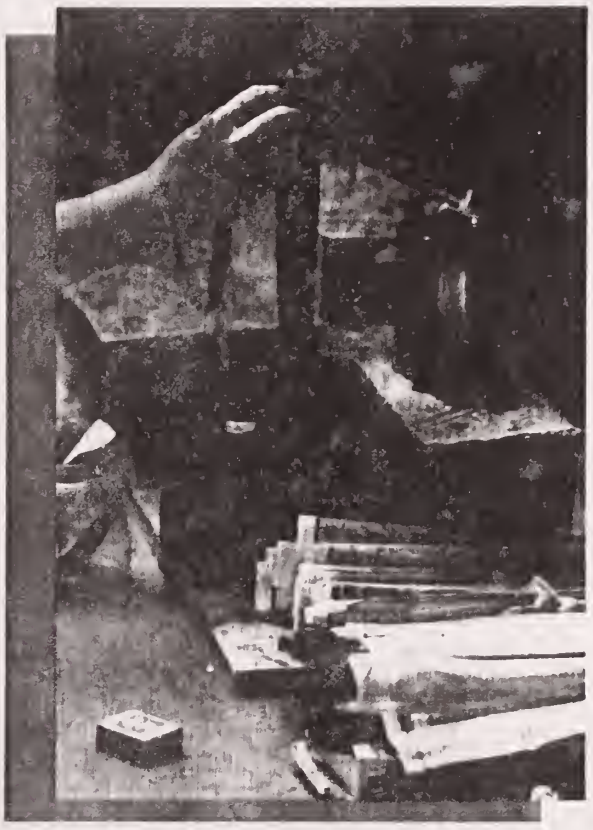
Heaven, as enjoying the presence of God, is both a state of relationships and a place for the new and spiritual body of all who are redeemed by Christ. Salvation is God's free and gracious gift to all who respond in repentance and faith to Christ crucified and raised to life. Salvation is not the fruit of our own works or those of our relatives. It is by faith alone (Eph. 2:8f).

Further, those who die in Christ go immediately to be with Him. Jesus said to the dying thief, "I tell you the truth, today you will be with me in paradise" (Luke 23:43). Again, Paul declares, "For me to live is Christ and to die is gain. . . . I desire to depart and be with Christ which is far better, but it is more necessary for you that I remain in the body" (Phil. 1:23f). At the resurrection we will all be changed and raised with a spiritual body to enter into full fellowship with God and enjoy Him forever. The hope of resurrection is the re-creation of the whole person. The use of the phrase "immortality of soul" needs to be used with care since immortality belongs to God alone (I Tim. 6:16). The idea of an immortal bodiless soul found in Greek and Asian religious cultures is in contrast to the New Testament hope of resurrection of the body. The idea of "soul-sleep" between physical death and the resurrection needs to be handled with great caution. The references to death as sleep in passages such as Matt. 9:24, I Cor. 15:51f, and I Thess. 4:13f may be a figure of speech to describe death as being without fear and not as a description of the nature of an intermediate state.

Scripture prohibits any attempt to communicate with the spirits of the departed as is seen in the account of Saul's attempt to communicate with Samuel through the medium of Endor (I Sam. 28:1–25). Those who turn to mediums or seek spiritists defile themselves and commit spiritual prostitution (Lev. 19:31; 20:6). All acts of worship and prayers to the dead are forbidden. However, we should encourage Christians, and especially new believers, to entrust their deceased loved ones to God and be grateful for what the deceased have meant to them.

Since our salvation is grounded in the finished work of Christ on the cross, prayers and masses for the salvation of the dead are of no avail. The idea of Mary and the saints interceding for those "in purgatory" has no biblical support and should be rejected. On the other hand, the conducting of funerals with due respect and solemnity and the care of graves is to be commended as acts of honor to the departed loved ones. We note that in Old Testament times, to leave dead bodies unburied was considered the worst of fates (I Kings 14:11), and to be excluded from the family tomb was a punishment from God (I King 13:21f).

We recognize that some passages of Scripture are difficult to understand and to apply to our own



situations. We urge great caution in drawing conclusions from passages such as I Peter 3:19f and I Cor. 15:29 as to the state of the dead or of the right to communicate with them.

Finally, we affirm our need to develop sound principles of interpretation that give serious consideration to the contexts of the biblical message, to the cultures of the people to whom the message is directed, and to the one who communicates the Gospel. We note that Paul in his passion to proclaim the Gospel to unreached peoples testified to his willingness to identify with different people in their particular social and religious conditions. But his actions were governed by the law of Christ (I Cor. 9:19–23). We may identify with the practices of those whom we seek to reach to the extent that we do not contradict the revealed Word of God. We must act with a good conscience and with due respect to our weaker brother or sister (I Cor. 8, 10; Rom. 14).

We confess Jesus Christ as Lord and joyously submit to His reign over us in all dimensions of our lives, including both our actions and our intentions. Whatever we do, we do to the glory of God.

Practical Perspectives

We affirm that true worship is that which we offer to the triune God of the Scriptures who alone is worthy of all our adoration and praises and who alone is able to bestow blessings upon us. We deny the validity of ancestor worship as true worship.

We also hold to the position that the Christians in the contexts of various cultures should not try to culturalize the Gospel but to transform the cultures according to the teachings of the Scriptures. We are fully aware that we cannot start from a cultural vacuum, and neither can we possess a pure Christian culture on the earth. Therefore, we do not reject all given cultures in their totality, nor do we accept Western culture as Christian. Our point of reference is not cultural contexts but Christ, and cultures should be transformed by the power of the Holy Spirit under the Lordship of Christ.

"Ancestors' spirits" have no supernatural power either to bestow blessings or to inflict curses upon the descendants. We, therefore, encourage Christians confronted with the problems of ancestor practices not to be controlled by a sense of fear, trust, or adoration of the ancestors nor create an impression of such to the surrounding society and to fellow Christians. At the same time, Christians in each situation should wisely decide proper action under the leading of the Holy Spirit according to Scripture and their conscience.

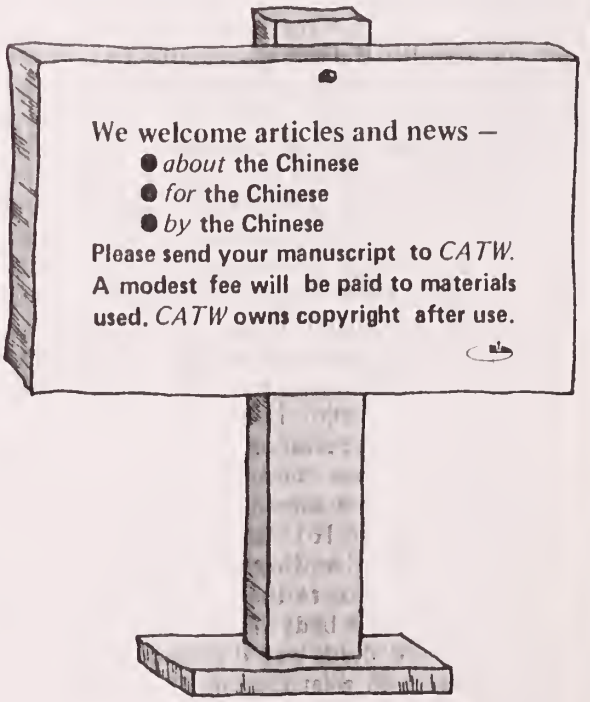
We should be constantly reminded of the commandment to honor our parents as well as the first and second commandments. Parents will be truly honored only when these first commandments are faithfully obeyed. Believers not only have to respect parents and take care of their families and relatives but also have to exceed the non-believers in these duties (I Tim. 5:8).

Christians in any situation have the obligation to seek points of contact with our unbelieving neighbors even in the cases of ancestor practices by showing our sincere sympathy to the bereaved in order to witness Christ to them and to eventually transform the practices themselves (I Cor. 9:19–23; I Peter 2:9f; 3:15f). The points of contact should remain, however, within the limit of the general principles and guidelines given above.

We acknowledge that some of these approaches are neither final nor guarantee freedom from conflicts. The final answers are in Christ, and His children should be ready to suffer as He did and as many saints in various parts of this continent have done. We are aware that these guidelines would not necessarily help churches grow, but we pray and hope that they may do so.

We present this document as a *working paper*. We realize that there are many dimensions, aspects and problems related to this issue which are still not clear. Therefore, we hope that this statement will be a stimulant to continue this study with other evangelical scholars, pastors and church leaders so that we may be more effective and faithful to the Bible and to the work of God in Asia.

(We are grateful to the Asia Theological Association for providing the above text. Ed.)



Dr. Mastra expressed content of the seminar commenting on the passage in Galatians 2:20: "Christ is my life; Bali is my body." The gospel must permeate our entire life and not be regarded as simply a piece of "clothing" we put on and take off.

Dr. Mastra pictured contextualization as reaching a river and desiring to cross to the other side. One way to do this is to remove all clothing and swim easily across, but upon reaching the other side one is naked and unequipped to proceed in society. Another way of crossing the stream is to enter the water with clothing on then remove piece by piece whatever hinders one's swim. Upon arrival on the opposite bank one still has something left to wear. When converts have to change their language, thought patterns and way of life, there is not much left with which they can be clothed as they resume life in their culture.

The ministry of transformation takes place within a culture-specific environment. This cannot be overlooked as one proceeds with the gospel presentation. Holism in ministry takes this into account and attempts to present the message in culturally relevant ways while preserving the individual's integrity as part of that cultural system in all its dimensions.

ETHNIC CHINESE CONGRESS ON WORLD EVANGELIZATION

The Chinese Coordination Centre of World Evangelism (CCCOWE) has announced a conference for July 5-12, 1984, in Honolulu, Hawaii. The main purpose is to increase mutual understanding and cooperation among local-born Chinese and overseas-born Chinese Christians, in the hope that particularly the local-born will be made more aware of the need for worldwide evangelization. Other goals are to see more young Chinese Christians entering cross-cultural missionary work, to identify issues separating Chinese Christians, and to suggest church models. One interesting feature of this congress is that it will be conducted in English, with the proceedings translated simultaneously into Cantonese, Mandarin, Indonesian and Thai.

For additional program information or registration, please contact the CCCOWE district committee in your area, or write to General Secretary Thomas Wang, CCCOWE, Box 98435, Tsimshatsui, Hong Kong.

MARC EUROPE ADDRESS

Please note the current address for MARC Europe: Mr. Peter Brierley, Director of MARC Europe, 146 Queen Victoria Street, London EC4V 4BX, England.

THE MISSIONS ADVANCED RESEARCH AND COMMUNICATION CENTER is a ministry of World Vision International, in cooperation with World Vision of Australia, World Vision of Canada, World Vision of Europe, World Vision of New Zealand and World Vision of the U.S.

MARC was founded in 1966 in an effort to undergird the task of Christ's Church by providing a strategic information center on the work of the Church worldwide by applying a systems approach to the task of missions on six continents, and by seeking to establish a network of cooperative researchers and evangelists throughout the world. World Vision is supported by individuals, local churches, mission agencies, denominations and foundations. Your financial and prayer support is invited.

Programs and work currently include a continuing program of identifying and publicizing unevangelized and unreached people, compilation of people and country profiles, compilation of resources for evangelism, operation of the MARC world Christian data bank, surveys of world need in disaster-prone areas, development of self-analysis guides for local churches and training aids and seminars for strategic mission planning. MARC is the working arm of the Strategy Working Group of the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization.

The MARC *Newsletter* is published bi-monthly and is available free of charge upon request. A special overseas airmail edition is also published.

(continued from page 2)

In England, Ray will be teaching for a week (August 6-10) at the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies. He will be covering a wide spectrum of urban concerns as well as biblical and historical roots of urban evangelism. The following week (August 13-17) he will lead an invited group on visits to ministries in Liverpool and London. For information write to Mr. Chris Sugden, Oxford Centre for Mission Studies, P.O. Box 70, Oxford, England.

OXFORD CENTRE FOR MISSION STUDIES

A series of weekly international and intercultural seminars are scheduled for the Oxford Centre's summer school 1984 as follows: July 22-28, Ways of Witness Among People of Other Faiths; July 29-August 4, Mission and Social Transformation; August 5-12, New Frontiers in Mission.

Lecturers include Michael Nazir Ali, Gerald Anderson, Raymond Bakke, Simon Barrington-Ward, Ed Dayton, Paul Hiebert, Stephen Neill, Rene Padilla, Vinay Samuel and Ronald Sider.

For application and further information write Christopher Sugden, Registrar, Oxford Centre for Mission Studies, P.O. Box 70, Oxford, England.

INDONESIAN CONFERENCE ON HOLISTIC MINISTRY

Chris Sugden, now associated with the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies in Oxford, England, served as the chief presenter during a Conference on Holistic Ministry held in Malang, East Java, Indonesia, March 11-15. He was ably assisted in the presentation by Dr. I. Wayan Mastra, Chairman of the Protestant Christian Church in Bali. Dr. Mastra has spent his entire career in the ministry in Bali and has effectively contextualized the gospel in Balinese terms.

Sugden conducted a survey of biblical passages dealing with the life of Christ and apostolic teaching regarding Kingdom ministry--the basis for holism in ministry. The lectures were amply illustrated from a variety of actual situations worldwide and particularly from India where Sugden has previously served. He suggested that the term "transformation" should be used to describe what Christians should be about in holistic ministry. This term is preferred over the secular term "development." Transformation speaks of more widespread development than simply economic development. Contained in the concept is the idea of what it means to become truly human in all aspects of life. Transformation is aimed at bringing about four results: preserving the good which is already achieved and present in society, managing resources both human and natural in an effective way, bringing about growth in individuals and their society, and changing the value orientation of individuals and societies.

Approximately 30 pastors and Christian workers from various parts of Indonesia were present. Participants were encouraged to prepare cases from the various regions of Indonesia which detailed the cultural and local issues impacting ministry in the area. These involved presentations from Bali, Java, Timor, Kalimantan and the Batak region of Sumatra.

multiplication by division. This plan recognizes the basic family units which seem an important factor for Italian evangelism. It should be easier for ten churches of five, or five churches of ten to double, than for the more settled congregation of fifty to grow.

2. Place responsibility for these little churches in the hands of the laity. Obviously a pastor or missionary cannot personally assume the care of all these groups. He should not. This calls for utilizing the elders. In some cases these elders must be found. No doubt many elders will be the natural heads of households where new groups meet.

3. Certain leaders must be placed in key, central areas to instruct the laymen who teach and preach and lead the little church groups. Missionaries should be chosen with care for this teaching responsibility. These overseers must go to the provinces as well as to the cities. The placement of a key leader in the center of each cluster of churches is essential if the plan is to succeed.

4. Lay leaders who display the proper gifts and who rise as natural leaders in the church should be ordained.

5. The area surrounding local communities of believers should be divided up and assigned as specific areas of responsibility for church extension. The homes of outlying believers, or of relatives of believers, or of sympathizers should become the base for extending the church.

[1] J. Merle Davis, *New Buildings on Old Foundations* (New York: International Missionary Council, 1947), p. 134.

[2] Arno W. Enns, "Profiles of Argentine Church Growth" (Pasadena: Fuller Theological Seminary, unpublished master's thesis, 1967), pp. 189-190.

[3] John S. Kerr, "Laymen: The Secret of Strength," *World Encounter*, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 30-35.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Merle J. Davis, *How the Church Grows in Brazil* (New York: International Missionary Council, 1943), pp.79-80.

[7] Joseph C. Wold, *God's Impatience in Liberia* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1968), p. 105.

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Are indegenous church principles outdated?

MELVIN L. HODGES

In recent months questions have arisen about the validity of indigenous church principles in relation to modern missionary work. At the Green Lake Consultation on Church-Mission Relationships, some statements seemed to indicate that some mission leaders feel that indigenous church principles had been tried and found wanting, and that in the future missions would have to look to some other measures in order to insure the success of their work. Dr. George Peters' excellent paper on church-mission relationships contained a paragraph which, if not properly understood, could support this opinion.

He calls for a thorough-going review of the whole issue of finances and he mentions one method of handling funds as follows:

"No foreign funds be made available to national churches. This is the extreme application of the self-support principle under the label of indigenization. Due to this practice, there are today thousands of small, impotent, ill-cared-for, anemic groups of believers in the world struggling for survival. There is as much peril and undersupply as there is an oversupply of foreign funds. Balance and common sense are much needed in this matter."

Semantics is a part of our problem. What do we mean by "indigenous church principles"? *Indigenous*, of course, means

Mr. Hodges is secretary for Latin America and the West Indies for the Foreign Missions Department of the Assemblies of God.

"native to the soil, not exotic." Used of the church, it means those concepts which would cause the church to thrive and prosper in its own native soil and culture, rather than being an exotic plant that requires artificial climate in order to thrive. The promoters of indigenous methods really are calling for following New Testament church principles that will establish an on-going, thriving church – not dependent on foreign help. Certainly, we do not mean that everything indigenous is good, simply because it is indigenous. Nor do we advocate the cutting off of proper help that a church should receive from the rest of the body of Christ. I believe that there is no fundamental disagreement among evangelical mission leaders in this regard. We all are striving for the same goal, although there may not be complete agreement as to the methods that will best bring about this result.

The second problem arises out of a misapplication of indigenous church principles. We should hold in mind that indigenous church principles mean more than a self-supporting church in the financial sense. Mistakenly, we have often identified indigenous church principles exclusively with the self-supporting aspect. Self-propagation is perhaps the most important aspect of the indigenous church concept. Self-government also plays an important part.

When Christian leaders have directed their attention too exclusively to the self-support aspect of the work, their effort has not always been successful, because a people trained in, and accustomed to, dependency do not overnight adjust to responsibility. It requires patient teaching and planning, and above all, the introduction of the dynamics of the Holy Spirit.

The dynamics of the New Testament church are important in the life of a New Testament church. Did Dr. Peters mean to say that money is the life-blood of the church, without which there will be *anemic* groups of Christians? Many of these anemic groups of Christians would still be anemic even if they had a pastor supported by foreign funds. Money does not convert an indifferent group of Christians into an active soul-winning-evangelizing force. It takes the presence and power of the Holy Spirit to do this.

Another question that has been raised has a theological base. It is stressed that since the church is one body in the whole world, and the ministries that God has placed in the church are for the church irrespective of political and geographical

boundaries or differences of race, it follows that the whole resources of the church, financial, as well as spiritual, should be available for any section of the church wherever the need may be. This, of course, contains an element of truth, for the church is one and God is interested in the prosperity of the church everywhere. It is, however, shallow thinking to apply this to all conditions in the church without taking into consideration how this principle was applied in the New Testament. Paul was certainly aware of the oneness of the body of Christ, yet there is no hint of his requiring the church in one area to undertake the supplying of the operational expenses of the churches in another area. He did accept offerings from the churches to finance his missionary projects. He also took up offerings from the Gentile churches as an act of mercy for the suffering Christians in Jerusalem. These actions suggest the unity of the universal church.

Some statements indicate that the churches of the more affluent countries should systematically and continually underwrite the expenses of the church in the less developed countries. Most certainly, it seems proper to give financial help to send out messengers to establish the church in those areas where Christ is not known. But wherever the church is established, the Christians themselves (converts) automatically fall heir to the responsibilities for witnessing to the gospel of Christ and for supporting their own work. To do otherwise, would be to fail of the grace of God.

A problem arises when we think of church life only in terms of the church that we have been accustomed to. We tend to establish churches abroad after the pattern of the American churches we are accustomed to; to pay pastors according to American standards, and institute organizational structures that may constitute far too heavy a load for the church in an economically undeveloped area. Should we not see that the church can develop independently of economic conditions?

Indigenous church principles do not exclude the proper use of foreign funds for projects that will help the church get on its feet. What we object to is crippling the church by making it dependent on foreign sources of supply. We should never do for the church what it should do for itself.

In handling foreign funds, the question that should continually be asked is, In the long run will this gift help the church to be able to carry on? Will it stimulate responsibility or

create dependency?

Objections have been raised to the illustration of the missionaries being compared to the scaffolding of a building. The idea is, that when the building is completed the scaffolding is to be torn down. This illustration must be understood in the sense of the truth it tries to teach.

By using this illustration, we do not mean that after the first work is done the missionary must necessarily pick up and go home. Rather, the missionary should build the church in such a way that it can still exist without him. He is not to build a church around himself and his mission. His ministry is to bring the church into existence. After the church is established, the missionary may very well have an important ministry to the church, but he should not build the church in such a way that if he leaves, the whole structure will collapse because his ministry, funds, and guidance are essential to the continuing life of the church. The missionary should not perpetuate himself as pastor of a local church, or administrator in the national church. Paul followed this pattern. When he left a locality he still continued his ministry of counselling and teaching to that church by means of visits and letters.

For those who are concerned lest the withholding of foreign funds for the support of pastors and the maintenance of the day-to-day program of the local church thereby stifle and cripple its life, a study of the truly ongoing churches in foreign fields should settle the problem. Only those churches that have learned to depend on their own resources, whose members consider that the church is their church and the responsibility to win the lost is their own obligation, are really moving forward and doing a permanent work.

Remarkably enough, those churches that receive no missionary help are often stronger than those who have the help and finances of missionaries. Certainly, missionary work should be done in such a way that in the long run the church will have greater strength and evangelistic outreach than if they were doing it by themselves! Surely something is wrong if missionaries with their talents and money produce a less aggressive, less evangelistic church than those groups attain who have had little or no missionary help. Our plea is that missionary help will truly be a strength to the church rather than a source of weakness.

How Westernized Japan?

DAVID K. WILLIS

The mistake is easy enough to make. The hotel is comfortable, familiar. Outside, floods of new cars, smog, some skyscrapers, good restaurants, all overwhelming, occasional glimpses of the palace moat, or the curving roof of a shrine.

How Westernized the Japanese are! How similar to us! And yet. . .

Defining the Japanese today isn't really so simple. Perhaps the only certain thing is that nothing is certain, but it's probably wrong to draw sweeping conclusions from the number of soft-drink signs or carburetors.

Japanese as well as Western observers agree that underneath the Western facade, the Japanese remain essentially the same insular, competitive, group-minded, Asian people that they have been for many hundreds of years.

There are changes, of course. More Japanese sleep on beds, rather than on mattress-like futon. Toast and cornflakes are gaining a hold on the breakfast market, so long dominated by rice, dried seaweed, and soup.

More and more young people are getting married without the benefit of a go-between, then living away from their parents in ferro-concrete apartment blocks called "danchi."

Japanese men lead what amounts to double lives: up in the morning (most of them) for futon laid on tatami mats, into Western clothes, then mostly Western-style until evening and home.

A closer look at the office, however, indicates older attitudes: the playing of the company song before work, group calisthenics to piped music at three p.m.

One prominent American businessman has said it takes three years for an American really to understand how his Japanese staff thinks and operates.

Contextualization - Reinterpretation - Innate.

APPLIED SPIRITUALITY IN MINISTRY AMONG MUSLIMS

by

Phil Parshall

> A bound heart, yes, in the deepest sense a bound heart--no ship which rides with all its anchors out is as bound as the heart must be which shall be pure--that heart must be bound to God. No king who commits himself to the strictest charter, no man who commits himself to the most demanding obligation, no day-laborer who commits himself for every day, and no private teacher who commits himself for every hour is so bound, because such people can still say to what extent they are committed, but the heart, if it is to be pure, must be limitlessly committed to God. No power can bind in such a way, because the king can be released by death from his charter; the master can die and the day-laborer's obligation ceases; and the instruction period can come to an end--but God never dies, and the bond which binds is never broken (Kierkegaard 1962:148).

What penetrating words came from the pen and heart of Søren Kierkegaard! Limitless commitment to God leading to a glorious abandonment of self and active pursuit of ones Lord and Master. Thus, the persistent seeker finds himself bound with cords which can never be broken. The Hound of Heaven has pursued and conquered. Such is the nature of a bondage impregnated and energized by authentic spirituality.

Michael Reilly was a Jesuit missionary in the Philippines for ten years. His excellent book entitled, Spirituality for Mission, touches base with the spiritual philosophy of a number of missionary organizations. He comments that "Christian spirituality is the life style of the Christian. Its goal is holiness, union with God, and full possession by the Father through Christ in the Spirit" (1978:43). This transcendental definition is given horizontal balance by Bonhoffer who penned these thoughtful reflections from Tegel Prison in Berlin while awaiting execution by the dreaded gestapo.

> Our relation to God is a new life in existence for others through participation in the being of Jesus. The transcendental is not infinite and unattainable tasks, but the neighbor who is within reach in any given situation. God in human form--not, as in oriental religions in animal form, monstrous, chaotic, remote, and terrifying, nor in the conceptual forms of the absolute, metaphysical, infinite, etc., nor yet in the Greek divine-human form of "man in himself," but "the man for others," and therefore the Crucified, the Man who lives out of the transcendent (Bethge 1953: 381-382).

Yes, Christ incarnated in human form: God's master plan to model the earthly and the heavenly; the human and the divine. Now generations

CONTEXTUALIZATION

flowing forth from Adam can comprehend human responsibility based upon a spiritual relationship.

Francis Schaeffer, in his True Spirituality, speaks of spirituality in terms of "active passivity" (1971:59). There is an element of passive resting in the complete and adequate work of Christ which, in turn, motivates the believer to very active involvement in the deprivations and hurts of one's neighbor. My spiritual pilgrimage of the past twenty-one years has been influenced significantly by the one-sixth of the world's population who adhere to the religion of Islam. This paper will highlight some of the more pertinent experiences which have formed my journey of "active passivity" lived within the matrix of Muslim society. The witness of others, much greater than myself, will also be shared.

CONTEXTUALIZED SPIRITUALITY

Some few years ago, while reflecting on the relevance of Christ to the Bangladeshi masses, I penned the following speculative autobiography of a simple farmer who had just encountered the incarnated Messiah.

There standing before me on a dusty path in a
remote village of Bangladesh stood Jesus.
His ganji and lungi were soiled,
His brow filled with sparkling beads
of perspiration.
Hands of labor radiated a message of dignity.
Calloused feet spoke of hours behind a plow.
His brown, golden skin communicated a
startling truth.
God had become a Bengali!

I fell upon the hot, blistering earth in
awe and reverence.
His hands of love tenderly embraced me
and drew me to His breast.
His voice spoke with the tenderness of the
flow of a small rippling brook,
Yet with the authority of the roaring Ganges,
"Come, my child
Come and follow me."
My conquered will could only respond with
words of brokenness,
"My Lord and My God."
Slowly rising to my feet, I found myself
struggling for composure.
"What new thing is this?"

My heart was as joyous as the dancing of
the newborn lamb;
My tattered clothing seemed as regal as that of
the wealthy landowner;
My aching limbs became as refreshed as if I
had bathed in the cool waters of the
nearby pond;

The gnawing pangs of hunger subsided
as if I had just eaten a most sumptuous
meal of rice and curry.

Yes, now I understand, I have just accepted
Jesus of Bengal
as my Lord. . . .
My God. (Parshall 1980:235-236).

Can not spirituality be contextualized in the receptor community with the force and pungency of this poem? Would Jesus not have become totally a Bengali had He chosen to incarnate in Bangladesh? Is it not the privilege and responsibility of the missionary to incarnate Christ in the country where he has chosen to minister? I'll never forget the shock of looking on the wall of the 135-year-old-inner-city-Boston home of my good friend, Dr. Douglas Hall, and seeing a painting of a black Christ. This picture not only communicated to the Blacks among whom Doug works. . . but also to his black adopted son.

The inter-relatedness of culture and spirituality has been commented on by Reilly. "The effect which culture and society have upon theology and spirituality is extremely important; indeed, it is difficult to overestimate its importance" (1978:37). Yet, we as missionaries have often overlooked this truth. Recently, I did a study on "Perceptions." The following is a list of comparative items, each indicating how the "ministry" (and thus spirituality) of the Muslim priest and the foreign Christian missionary are perceived by the onlooking Muslim community.

MUSLIM PRIEST	CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY
1. Mosque is focus of life	1. Goes to church a few hours a week
2. Prays openly five times a day	2. Little public prayer
3. Fasts for one month during daylight hours	3. Seldom, if ever, fasts
4. Constant use of religious vocabulary	4. Little use of such
5. Not a giver of relief and financial aid: is a recipient of local money only	5. Is a dispenser of foreign funds--as relief, jobs, training institutions, hospitals, etc.
6. Has no employees	6. Has employees with accompanying status
7. Puts little value on non-Quranic education	7. Puts great value on formal, secular education, degrees
8. Memorizes vast parts of the Quran in Arabic	8. Memorizes very little of the Bible--in any language
9. Involves himself in a healing ministry by pouring consecrated water on a sick person, putting charms on the diseased chanting the Quran, and saying prayers	9. Gives a mild prayer for the sick with little faith or conviction. People go to the missionary for medicine, not prayer. Emphasis is on the scientific, not the spiritual (Parshall 1983:137).

The end result is that the Muslim priest comes out looking like a man of God while the missionary is perceived as being an efficient institutional administrator with a humanistic bias. As a result of this and other Islamic religious studies, our missionaries decided to implement the following worship forms and personal lifestyles in order to better communicate the spiritual dimensions of Christianity.

--Male missionaries wear the dress of Muslim religious men. They also have beards as holy men do. The wives wear conservative, modest saris.

--Life styles are simple. No one lives on a mission compound.

--In worship there is provided a place for washing. Shoes are removed. Everyone sits on the floor. Bibles are placed on wooden stands. Prayer is done while kneeling or prostrating. Scripture is chanted and memorized. No musical instruments are used. Believers embrace as Muslims do.

--Some missionaries have kept the fast in Muslim style. Others have followed the prescribed prayer ritual five times daily. There is prayer for the sick.

--There are no institutional ministries. Financial assistance is not given to new believers in order to avoid the common charge of missionaries "inducing" Muslims to become Christians. All believers are expected to remain within their own Islamic culture. There is no "option for flight."

--The day of worship is observed according to pragmatic considerations.

--The word "Christian" is avoided because of negative cultural and historical connotations. "Followers of Jesus" is used.

--Autonomous churches are formed similar to mosque organization. Large denominational structures are not established.

It has been challenging to be in correspondence with a Pakistani Franciscan friar who has experimented with adoption of some Muslim spiritual forms in his small community of friars in Karachi. He writes of the positive effect of being able to relate to Muslim neighbors in a new and meaningful way.

Another interesting bridge to spiritual communication with Muslims is a sincere appreciation of Sufi poetry. Dhu'l-Nun, an Egyptian, penned these words.

I die, and yet naught dies in me
The ardour of my love for Thee,
Nor hath Thy Love, my only goal,
Assuaged the fever of my soul.

To Thee alone my spirit cries,
In Thee my whole ambition lies
And still Thy wealth is far above
The poverty of my small love.

I turn to Thee in my request,
And seek in Thee my final rest;
To Thee my loud lament is brought,
Thou dwellest in my secret thought. (Arberry 1950:53).

Contextualized spirituality creates a climate for sensitive, open dialogue. My first time of prayer with my Sufi Ph.D Muslim friend opened the door for one of the deepest friendships I have. Prayer was the catalyst between two people in serious quest of God.

PERPLEXITIES OF LIFE

Can a "good" God be a non-plussed, non-involved observer to a world He has created which has gone beserk with hatred, violence and seemingly imminent self-destruction? This question, which can lead the superficial down the lonely, inadequate path of Deism, buffeted the very innermost recesses of my soul for three years. I read every book I could obtain on the profound subject of why the righteous suffer. Job and Habakkuk were biblical books that identified the issues, but were somewhat unsatisfying in their explanation of the rationale of God's acts. Their insistence on faith and almost blind acceptance of human tragedy seemed to demand my intellectual capitulation.

In the midst of such internal unrest, my wife received a letter from the American missionary surgeon who had performed a major operation on her a few weeks previously. The small type-written note contained the shocking news that "unequivocally" Julie had uterine cancer. There was also the possibility the cancer had originated in the breast region and had spread to the uterus. That morning, in our small home in a remote town in Bangladesh, I was overwhelmed with the implications--For Julie: The prospect of painful therapy and the probability of premature death; For Lindy, our only child who was in boarding school in Manila: The concern for her loving mother, as well as immediate withdrawal and relocation during her crucial twelfth year of high school; For Me: Was God big enough to conquer what could be an attitude of bitterness and doubt?

The next exhausting five days of packing, sending telexes, and saying farewells has blurred into history. What has not dimmed is the unbelievable grace of the Lord which flooded my heart with peace and inexplicably allowed me to crucify the question, "Why?" God had decided the crucible of personal suffering would be the best vehicle of maturation for His "doubting Thomas" child. Those were precious days of stretching and being affirmed by the quiet inner witness of the Holy Spirit. When God's special goals were accomplished, we were told by pathologists in America that there had been a mix-up in the slides in Bangladesh and that actually my wife is completely free of cancer. Such are the unfathomable acts of God. These perplexing paradoxes of life lead one on to a deeper intimacy with Christ.

POVERTY

Bangladesh has been assigned the dubious distinction by the U.N. as being one of the three poorest nations in the world. It fell to our lot

to seek to work out personal spirituality in such a context. In 1974, Bangladesh experienced her most severe crop failure and subsequest famine since 1950. During that crisis I wrote the following--each illustration being authentic and documented.

Come, take a walk with me down the corridors of an
eternity in Bangladesh.
A desperate destitute family of four recklessly
throw their bodies before an onrushing train.
Their screams stretch to eternity. . . .

The final meal of rice and curry is carefully
prepared by a distraught mother of six. A
generous portion of rat poison merges into
the swirling mass of boiling juice. The
kiss of death and then. . . eternity.

A frightened little boy of nine scans the garbage
heap for a morsel of food. He scurries
back to his dying father with a soggy
crust of bread. It's too late. TOO LATE. . .
ETERNITY!

For some, eternity is death. For others in Bangladesh
eternity is life. To all, it is NOW and to all,
it is horribly long.

She was just twenty and possessed the potential
of being attractive, even cute. The emaciated
baby clutching her exposed breast was so
tiny and ever so helpless. Gratefully accepting
the gift of seventy-five cents, the hungry mother slowly
walked away. Her rags of clothing were so inadequate
that her bare buttocks literally screamed the message
of poverty to an insensitive onlooking world.

Home is a sidewalk. The drain is the bathroom. Two
bricks are the stove. Gathered cow dung
provides the fuel. A dead crow is supper
for Mom, Dad and three small children.

Eternity is now and eternity is HELL!
Eternity is being hungry
AND
Eternity is Bangladesh.

The corridor
stretches on
endlessly
before us. . . . . .

A deluge engulfed the capital city of Dhaka that warm afternoon in 1974. As I was driving my car through the pelting rain, my thoughts were occupied with the few moments remaining before our guests would start

arriving for a time of feasting and fellowship. I still had a number of urgent things to accomplish prior to the commencement of the party.

Suddenly, through the downpour I made out the form of a man lying in a ditch beside the road. As I drove quickly by, I felt a tinge of pity for him. However, he was only one of hundreds swooning into unconsciousness daily on the streets. Famine was ruthlessly stalking the paths and alleys of our groaning city.

"You despicable hypocrite," came the Word of the Lord to me as I drove closer to the warmth and dryness of our very adequate home. These words seared into my agenda of a relaxed evening with close friends. The brakes screached on the wet pavement as the priest metamorphized into a Samaritan. The unconscious Bengali was laid out on the back seat of my car. After a night of recuperation, we sent him off with new clothes and adequate money for the return train fare to his village.

Spirituality, it seems to me, must be hammered out on the anvil of the real, the tragic, the hurt, and, yes, the failures of our lives. Only then can there be substance and steel in the statement, "Lord, I believe."

RAVAGES OF WAR

Thomas Merton, in a chapter of his book entitled A Body of Broken Bones, succinctly articulates the effect of man's depraved actions upon the holiness of God.

> All over the face of the earth the avarice and lust of men breed unceasing divisions among them, and the wounds that tear men from union with one another widen and open out into huge wars. Murder, massacres, revolution, hatred, the slaughter and torture of the bodies and souls of men, the destruction of cities by fire, the starvation of millions, the annihilation of populations and finally the cosmic inhumanity of atomic war: Christ is massacred in His members, torn limb from limb; God is murdered in men (1949:39).

In 1971, my family lived through a violent revolution in Bangladesh. It was startling to realize how deep the pit of degradation could be dug. In March of that year, the Pakistani soldiers suddenly and brutally commenced a bloody operation of subjugation of the unarmed Bengali masses. For two days we were under a tight curfew, which if broken would result in being instantly shot. On the third day, we drove around the city and observed the senseless brutality of the military. The launch terminal looked as though it had been mopped with blood. Students at the University of Dhaka had been forced to dig their own graves and then stand at attention while a machine gun mowed them down. I saw a movie covertly made of this actual happening. Esteemed Ph.D. professors of the University were pulled out of bed and shot. As I moved through the residence halls, I saw students with half of their heads blown away. At the site of one mass grave I observed fresh blood slowly oozing to the surface and turning God's created black soil into a grotesque crimson mockery of all that is decent and good. My heart wept as I helplessly contemplated the unbelievable depths to which man can descend. It was at that moment I decided to remain in the country during the ensuing months of civil war.

During that year of misery, Cherie McKinley, thirteen year old daughter of Southern Baptist missionary Jim McKinley, wrote a reminiscence about the day the Pakistani planes flew low over their village home and bombed their beloved people.

Roaring out of the Bengal sunset they came,
Two black dots on a warm summer evening.
Some children stop their playing to set clear
eyes upon them,
In awe watching the pair, soaring over rice
fields and straw huts
Like finches looking for some place to rest
their wings.

But suddenly, as they spot the tiny town,
Their nature changes, and now, like vultures,
They screech and dip down upon it.
A piercing wail rings out and then,
BOOM!. . . . BOOM!. . . . BOOM!

The children scatter like frightened ants
into their houses,
Amid the constant shattering and blasts.
Flinging themselves upon the floor,
They lay frozen in fear.
Their faces ghastly, their blood cold, their
heads buzzing with the question, "Why?"
While outside, the vultures peck at their prize.
A mother tries to comfort a child with shaking
hands.
The only steady comforting sound is the thunk,
thunk, thunk of the father's feet
Pacing the floor.
Again and again the planes dip,
BOOM!. . . . BOOM!. . . . BOOM!

Then in the same mysterious way they appeared,
They are gone.
All is quiet, the world seems dead.
But. . . .off in the distance comes the clattering
of wheels on the old road,
And the jingling of bells.
Like water from a broken dam,
The living gush into the countryside,
Trying to escape from the smell of death and blood.
Some crying, some with faces of white stone,
They all plod along together.
Not saying a word,
Not having to, because their grief is written
on their faces.
Slowly, they filter away.
The night comes, the stars twinkle,
A cool breeze blows from the south.
The only irritating sound is the crickets which

seem to say. . . .
LOVE YOUR ENEMIES. . . .
LOVE YOUR ENEMIES. . . . .
LOVE YOUR ENEMIES. (McKinley 1978:104-105).

Jim McKinley deeply loves the Bengali people among whom he has labored for twenty-five years. But, in 1971, the urgent spiritual issue centered on Jim's ability to conquer deep hatred against the Pakistani military. His reaction to the first reading of Cherie's poem penetratingly reveals the struggle of a man of God as he seeks to be truly "spiritual" while in the crucible.

> It took me about thirty minutes to read the poem. Feeling was deep. But I thought she, with God's help, had come through beautifully in her struggle against hate, hate toward the Pakistani soldiers. My thirteen year old daughter understood love and forgiveness better than I, her missionary father. Hatred hounded me continually--hatred against military forces that were treating Bengali people as if they were lower than the lowest form of animals. But Cherie's poem helped me to pray more earnestly for the strength to love and forgive men who were brutal in their behavior to others. I think Cherie both shamed me and embarrassed me through her beautiful experience. But the help I received was worth that shame and embarrassment (Ibid: 105).

H.B. Dehqani-Tafti, esteemed Bishop of Iran and Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the Middle East, has chronicled his experiences of humiliation in his outstanding autobiography entitled, The Hard Awakening. This book is a text on practical spirituality. Dehqani-Tafti was constantly harrassed by fanatical Muslim revolutionaries. At one point, they burst into his bedroom and fired four shots into his pillow, barely missing his head. In that incident his wife was wounded. Later, Dehqani-Tafti's secretary was tied up and shot. The deepest valley of spiritual humiliation was reserved for the day the Bishop, while attending a meeting in Cyprus, received a phone call from England. The broken voice on the other end gave the simple message, "Bahram has been shot and is dead." Dehqani-Tafti's only son had been murdered by religious fanatics. Bahram was a brilliant Oxford graduate who was only 24 years old at the time of his assassination.

In the swirling emotions of bereavement, perplexity, and deep hurt, the Bishop penned these words of spiritual insight the day before his beloved son's funeral, a funeral held in Iran which, because of certain personal danger, he could not attend.

> O God,
> We remember not only Bahram but also his murderers;
> Not because they killed him in the prime of his youth
> and made our hearts bleed and our tears flow,
> Not because with this savage act they have brought
> further disgrace on the name of our country among
> the civilized nations of the world;
> But because through their crime we now follow thy footsteps
> more closely in the way of sacrifice.
> The terrible fire of this calamity burns up all selfishness
> and possessiveness in us;

Its flame reveals the depth of depravity and meanness
and suspicion, the dimension of hatred and the
measure of sinfulness in human nature;
It makes obvious as never before our need to trust in
God's love as shown in the Cross of Jesus and his resurrection;
Love which makes us free from hate towards our persecutors;
Love which brings patience, forbearance, courage,
loyalty, humility, generosity, greatness of heart;
Love which more than ever deepens our trust in God's
final victory and his eternal designs for the
Church and for the world;
Love which teaches us how to prepare ourselves to face
our own day of death.

O God,
Bahram's blood has multiplied the fruit of the spirit
in the soil of our souls;
So when his murderers stand before Thee on the
day of judgment
Remember the fruit of the Spirit by which they have
enriched our lives.
And forgive. (Dehqani-Tafti 1981:113-114).

A saint writing in the late 1600's wisely observed, "To be a Christian is to be an imitator of Jesus Christ. In what can we imitate Him except in His humiliations? Nothing else can draw us to Him" (Fe'nelon 1947:44). Perhaps this is the secret of genuine spirituality. The last words penned by Bonhoeffer before his execution were these thoughts written on Christmas Day, 1944, "What is happiness and unhappiness? It depends so little on circumstances" (Bethge 1953:419). Yes, the focus must shift from the external to the internal. This is the rationale for Christ constantly demanding inward cleansing and spiritual renewal.

CONCLUSION

A few months ago, I was sitting in the fourth floor living room of a missionary guest house in Dhaka, Bangladesh. The picture window in front of my chair allowed me to look out on the beautiful flooded rice fields and observe the small country boats with colorful patched sails as they moved back and forth on an imiginary highway of water.

It soon became apparent that there were two distinct groupings of freight-laden boats. One ant-like trail of boats was obviously going with the strong wind. The boatmen were puffing away on waterpipes as they leaned on their rudders, casually guiding their craft to the desired haven. The other line of boats was going against the wind. Each boatman, with sweat pouring down his body, was strenuously rowing his boat with little apparent progress.

There seemed to me to be a powerful spiritual analogy in that river scene. How easy it is to flow with the crowd. The consensus of community makes a fleshly life the comfortable "norm". Battling against the tide, strained to ones total capacity, is analogous to the believer struggling to become a consistant spirit-filled Christian.

A painting which hangs in my home portrays the expanse of a wide ocean temporarily calm as it awaits the release of the winds and rain contained in the dark, threatening clouds hovering overhead. Soon, those seas would be wildly churning with crashing waves and howling winds. In the distance, a small outline of a ship is barely identifiable. The profoundly simple inscription on the picture states, "A ship in a harbor is safe, but that is not what ships are built for."

The spiritual Christian does not ghettoize his faith in a harbor of like-minded believers where all is safe and calm--but rather, courageously puts forth his ship into the sea of life where danger, difficulty and distress abounds.

Such is what "spiritual ships" are built for!

ISSUES FOR DISCUSSION

1. Is there only one universal "form" of spirituality? Some Christians accuse Christian contextualists of being pragmatic syncretizers. How should advocates of contextualization answer such a charge? Where are theological lines to be drawn? Are there not areas of Latin America, Africa, and Asia where contextualized Christianity is only a rather dormant, thin vaneer drawn over a very active system of folk religious belief?

2. In working out spirituality, how far should the missionary go in active involvement in social, economic and political areas? Does such an involvement enhance his status as a "man of God" in the eyes of the local non-Christian community?

3. Where does the intellect fit in the life of a deeply spiritual person? Is it right to question the acts of God in our lives. . . and the lives of others? Can a spiritual person ever be angry with God?

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1970's - 20th c. greatest calamity. typhoon + tidal wave - 20 feet high, 15 to 20 mi. inland.

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19 M. Searle Bates, "The Protestant Enterprise in China, 1937-1949," in Wilbur C. Harr (ed.), *Frontiers of the Christian World Mission*, (NY: Harper & Bros., 1962), p. 1.

20 Howard L. Boorman and Richard C. Howard (eds.), *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, Vol. 111 (NY: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 58.

21 "Y.T. Wu (1893-1979): A Christian of Revolutionary China," *China Notes* (Autumn-Winter, 1979-80), p. 86.

22 Bates, "The Protestant Enterprise," p. 5.

23 James Herbert Kane, *The Protestant Church in Communist China*. Unpublished M.A., Dept. of Religious Studies, Brown University (May, 1958), p. 69.

24 Paul A. Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese & Diplomats* – American Protestant Missionary Movement in China 1890-1952 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 309.

T. C. CHAO, PIONEER CHINESE CONTEXTUAL THEOLOGIAN

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On this third anniversary of the death of T.C. Chao, we are publishing this succinct statement on his life and work. A word of thanks goes to David G. Gelzer for digesting for us a wealth of material on Professor Chao.

This article was one of the lectures given at the ceremonies of the opening of the enlarged and renovated library of the Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut, and the depositing of the archives of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia there, April 2, 1982.

On the occasion of the transfer of the archives of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia to Yale Divinity School Library, it seems fitting to focus attention for a few minutes on CHAO Tsu-chen (ZHAO Zichen) or, as he is known in the West, T.C. Chao. There are three good reasons for this. First, he was prominent in the circle of the Associated Board; second, he was the first Chinese to contextualise his theology; and third, it gave me a good chance to use the United Board archives, just accessioned.

A few years before the founding of the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China – the predecessor of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia – T.C. Chao became Dean of the School of Religion of Yenching University in Peking. According to William P. Fenn, longtime Executive Secretary of the United Board, there were then more than two thousand men and women studying in sixteen colleges and universities associated with these Boards in China.[1] They constituted approximately twelve percent of all students in institutions of higher learning in China. It was a gigantic philanthropic educational enterprise which Protestant and Roman Catholic missions and churches in North America established and operated in China in the early part of the twentieth century and T.C. Chao was one of the most remarkable persons to come out of the complex.

In the time allotted to me, I propose, first, to recall salient facts of the life and personality of T.C. Chao, and then to indicate generally how his theology developed in a Chinese context.

1. His Life and Personality

At the age of 91 – 92 if we count the Chinese way – T.C. Chao died on November 21, 1979.[2] Philip West describes him as "one of the great Chinese Christian leaders of the twentieth century."[3] His early education was along traditional Confucian lines and not until he was an undergraduate at Soochow University did he become a Christian, joining the Methodist Church.[4] In that capacity he attended a conference in America, and then stayed on and obtained the M.A. and B.D. degrees from Vanderbilt. Thereupon he returned to his *alma mater* and began, in 1917, to teach Religion and Sociology. Five years later he was made Dean of the College.[5] In December 1926, Soochow celebrated its 25th Founders Day and honored Chao by conferring on him an honorary degree. The citation reads in part:

> He has come to be recognized as probably the most gifted Christian writer in China today....He is probably the most significant contribution Soochow made to the Christian movement in China.[6]

In 1927 Chao responds to the invitation of J. Leighton Stuart, President of Yenching University, to become Professor of Theology. Two years later he is made Dean of its School of Religion. He remains there until he is dismissed in 1952.[7] Chao quickly rises to prominence in Christian circles in China. He is co-founder of the National Christian Council and much in demand as speaker and preacher.[8]

Again in 1927, Paul Hutchinson, editor of *The Christian Century*, asks Henry W. Luce's help in introducing Chao to America. *McCall's* Magazine needs a picture to go with one of his sermons the magazine has accepted as the sermon of the month.[9] Toward the end of that year Chao is in Jerusalem attending the meeting of the International Missionary Council and writes a segment of the *Message*, the final draft being the work of Archbishop William Temple.[10] In 1935 Chao gives the keynote address at the Conference on "Education for Service in the Christian Church in China," the culmination of a study project, whose consultant for six months in China was Luther A. Weigle, then Dean of Yale Divinity School.[11] Three years later Chao again represents China at the IMC meeting in Tambaram, India, reading one of the principal papers.[12] When war breaks out in the West, China, already deep in internal strife and intrigue, becomes more intensely involved in its long war with Japan. After the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, Chao is imprisoned

by the Japanese for six months, then freed but under virtual house arrest until the defeat of Japan.[13] Shortly before his imprisonment he moves from the Methodist to the Anglican Church in China and is ordained in Hong Kong.[14] When Yenching University reopens in December 1945, he resumes his duties as Dean of the School of Religion.[15]

In 1947, along with Dwight D. Eisenhower and Cardinal Tisserant, Chao is among thirty-six recipients of honorary degrees by Princeton University. In part:

> ...Dean of the School of Religion, Yenching University; foremost interpreter of Christian faith to oriental minds, scholar, inspiring teacher, distinguished poet, gentle mystic, representative of a great university of the East...[16]

The following year the Constituting Assembly of the World Council of Churches elects Chao as one of its six presidents.[17] But in 1951, he withdraws from the presidency in protest over the wording of the Council's declaration on the Korean conflict.[18] Despite increasing turmoil and upheaval in China, despite "the agonizing futility and corruption of Chiang Kai-shek's regime,"[19] Chao declines an invitation to live in security and quiet in Hong Kong, determined to stand with his own people.[20] Chao reluctantly, yet clearly, comes to accept the revolution as the only alternative to chaos. Yet he was torn inside. Writing to Bishop Hall of the Anglican Church in Hong Kong, he said:

> A man like myself faces a 'boundary situation'...between two conflicting views and two conflicting ages, belonging neither entirely to the one or completely to the other and existing, therefore, always in a tension, sometimes exceedingly painful....But I have determined to accept the challenge.[21]

Although at first withholding approval of philosophical Marxism, Chao does welcome and endorse the new order. However, this does not spare him from mounting criticism.[22] The Three-Anti campaign, against corruption, waste and bureaucracy, operated on campus as the Yenching Austerity and Censoring Committee, made up of students, staff and laborers, rejects Chao's first and second "self-criticism" and accuses him of crimes of American imperialism.[23] These include his connections with Bishop Hall (in Hong Kong), Pit van Dusen (Union Seminary, New York), Frank Price

> and especially with the American imperialist agent William Fenn (Executive Secretary of the United Board for Christian Colleges in China)....Therefore he cannot be forgiven.[24]

As a result Chao is dismissed from his professorial post and deanship and directed "to ponder his crimes." The final blow falls a week later, March 17, 1952. Ling Hsien-yang, Bishop of the North China Diocese of the Chinese Anglican Church, publicly announces three actions he has taken against Chao, 1) the suspension of his clerical privileges, 2) the removal of his offices in the Diocese, and 3) a request made to the House of Bishops to revoke Chao's Holy Orders.[25] Chao, a victim of the Three-Anti Movement, is rejected by the revolution as an imperialist running-dog.

Chao now withdraws from public view, though his name remains connected with the Three-Self movement and the Board of Nanking Union Seminary. Years later, visitors who speak with him report that Chao seems to have abandoned his Christian faith.[26] In 1973, when asked about the meaning of religion in today's China, he replied, "Religion has no name in China today; it is not based on doctrine, dogmas or hypotheses, but practice."[27]

2. Contextual Chinese Theologian

How does Christian faith and proclamation become relevant in changing China? Over a period of thirty years Chao's ideas on this subject flowed from his pen into 172 books, articles, tracts, reviews, sermons, poems and hymns,[28] making him one of the most prominent and influential Chinese Christian leaders between 1925 and 1950.

The question is an old one. Whenever the church has existed in China, the relationship of theology to Chinese religion and culture has been an acute issue. But up until the beginning of the twentieth century, the question was only asked by foreign missionaries. The key word, "indigenization," can be traced back about 130 years to two mission statesmen, Rufus Anderson, an American, Secretary of the ABCFM, and Henry Venn, an Englishman, Chief Secretary of the CMS. The planting of churches, they said, should result in self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating churches,[29] in other words, here is the model for the Three-Self Movement in China today.

Whereas "indigenization" focuses on the relation of Christian proclamation to culture and religion in a given society, "contextualization" – a term, coined in 1972 –[30] includes the social, political, existential questions that confront the gospel in a given setting. Contextualization takes into particular account the Third World context, the process of secularization, technology and the struggle for human justice.

In contrast to traditional western theology, with its highly polished systems of thought, contextual theology, whether in Africa or Asia – and T.C. Chao is no exception – is issue-oriented. From a western theological perspective, Third World theologians often resemble the four horseman of the Apocalypse – dashing off in all directions. However, such criticism reveals more about a western theological mindset than about the creativity, innovation and relevance Third World theologians really display. Indeed, the relation to the context has always been the task of every authentic theological effort. In this respect there *is* no antithesis between systematic and contextual theology. What is new here for the West and needs to be clearly heard and understood is that Third World contextualizing theology has priorities of its own.

In this sense, T.C. Chao emerges in the early twenties as a Chinese theologian in the Chinese context. And, although his work comes to a standstill in the early years of the People's Republic of China, he rightly belongs among the pioneers of Chinese contextual theologians.[31]

In sketching no more than the briefest outline of the theological development of Chao's thought, I am indebted for the framework to Glüer's penetrating analysis,[32] the more so because he makes Chao's writing, in Chinese, available to those of us who cannot read characters.

Chao's theological thought developed in three phases. Each of these is directly related to the changing, worsening, social, economic and political context of China. The particular issues he confronted were raised by a revolution that began at the turn of the century, accelerating during his lifetime.

I. The first phase, corresponding roughly to the twenties, reveals Chao's pre-World War I affinity to Liberalism and his enthusiasm for the Social Gospel, both legacies of his studies in America. They open for him the door to dialogue with Chinese religion and philosophy.[33] Confucian ethic and the Social Gospel, he believes, mesh well. He sees China's renewal in the ethical self-realization of the individual who, inspired

by the humanity of Jesus, is to become the prototype of the new order of Chinese society.[34] "Indigenization" frequently appears in his writings when he describes or criticises the church.[35] His concern is with the functional aspect of the church rather than with its nature.[36] But his pragmatic and personalistic approach to a Christian-Confucian synthesis failed because of his weak Christology,[37] and equally so because Confucianism had already been rejected in favor of SAN MIN CHU-I, the Three Principles of the People.

II. In the second phase, Chao turns from an optimistic Liberalism to biblical realism and, in the process, discovers the church.[38] In presence of growing secular humanism and with the threat of Communism fast approaching, Chao emphasizes the spiritual dimension of the Christian faith.[39] The transcendence of God gains in importance while the Confucian model of Jesus recedes. It is replaced by the activity of the Spirit of Christ, manifested in the self-giving love of God.[40] As an extension of the Incarnation, the Church is the locus of salvation. As "society within society" it is to continue the work of Jesus, "the making and re-making of humanity." In this way the Church fulfills the aspirations of the nations.[41]

The outbreak of World War II and rising trouble in China dispelled his former belief in a Christian social order that can be actualized on earth. To be sure, Christians have a duty to work for a new order but its realization is no longer in the "now."[42] Despite this eschatological note in the late thirties, Chao struggled with a new approach to ethics. Incorporating Chinese elements one by one into his theology may look like a superficial way of contextualizing. But, whereas in earlier years he perceived continuity between Chinese and Christian ethic, he now sees discontinuity.[43] Taoism takes its form from nature, thus humankind is ultimately referred to itself, dependent upon itself. This is the way of Determinism. Confucian ethic leads to Relativism and here, for Chao, lies the cause of China's moral collapse. Chao's corrective is the transcendent God, an unequivocal highest principle.[44] From this God the Christian derives the sense of responsibility for the world which, when joined to Confucian ethical principles, issues in ethical action, based, not on nature or on self-interest, but upon God, and comes out of sacrifical love.[45] Christian practice becomes for Chao the valid interpretation of Christian faith.[46]

III. The final phase of Chao's thought is his attempt at a Christian-Marxist synthesis. The continuing social, economic and political upheaval in China forces him to re-examine his views on Communism. No longer able to ignore it or, as he had done earlier, condemn it as irreconcilable with Christianity, by 1948 Chao accepts revolution as the only viable alternative to the existing chaos in China.[47] For the time being it is a pragmatic acceptance, based on practical ways in which he shows willingness to cooperate with the state. But he still refuses to deal with Marxist ideology because he holds on to the transcendence of God.[48] As the state takes over all of the social and educational work of the Church, Chao's faith and practice become confined to the spiritual experience within the Christian community. In effect, Christian existence becomes Christian practice. In the end the tension between Christian faith and practice which Chao maintained right into the beginning of the revolution is resolved into practice alone. "Our duty to Christ," he says in 1956, "is to love men in a practical way, in practice, and again, in practice."[49] With the closing of the churches during the Cultural Revolution, Christian practice also lost its identity.

Chao failed to achieve a Christian Marxist synthesis. Did the victory of the revolution render his Christian faith irrelevant? Whatever the reasons, the context has apparently proved stronger than his faith. His conception of the transcendent God was unable to break through the philosophical categories of Chinese cosmology. And Chao returns to the Chinese world view.

It may, however, be unjust to Chao, to conclude that his attempt at contextualizing was a *complete* failure. It may be unjust to asset that certain things he has said are tantamount to denying his Christian faith.[50] Who are we to judge? T.C. Chao may yet be part of that goodly fellowship, the *ecclesia militans et incognita,* of which he prophetically said in 1935.

> Christianity will not die, but all that has passed for it will certainly be destroyed until not even the names are left.[51]

NOTES

1 William P. Fenn, *Ever New Horizons*, p. 4.

2 *China Notes*, Autumn-Winter 1979-80, p. 102.

3 Philip West, *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1916-1952*, p. 70.

4 *Chinese Recorder* (from hereon cited as *CR*), 51, 1920, p. 370., Chao is "connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church South."

5 W.B. Nance, *Soochow University*, pp. xiii, xiv, 101.

6 Winfried Glüer, *Christliche Theologie in China T.C. Chao 1918-56*, p. 207.

7 "Chao Tzu-ch'en," in Howard Boorman, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, Vol. 1., p. 147, Cf., however, *The Outlook*, May 10, 1922, p. 69, where, already in 1922, it is stated that Chao"...has accepted a call to the same seminary (Theological Seminary of Peking University which later became known as The School of Religion of Yenching University), United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia Archives, Yenching Academic School of Religion, 1922-1927 (from hereon cited as UBCHEA Arch.).

8 *CR*, 51, 1920, p. 370., Chao is also listed as a member of the Executive Committee of the S.V.M. and of the National Committee of the Y.M.C.A. in China.

9 Paul Hutchinson to Henry W. Luce, D.D., July 26, 1927, UBCHEA Arch. Yenching Corr. T.C. Chao, 1927-33.

10 T.C. Chao to Leighton Stuart, Nazareth, Palestine, April 9, 1928, UBCHEA Arch. Yenching Corr. T.C. Chao, 1927-33. Chao attended the meeting as representative of the National Christian Council of China, *International Review of Missions*, 17, 1928, p. 723 (from hereon cited as *IRM*).

11 *Education for Service in the Christian Church in China*, The Report of a Survey Commission 1935, Shanghai: The Christian Literature Society, [n.d.], pp. 1-3. Cf. Carleton Lacy's report on the conference, "Education for Service in the Chinese Church," *CR*, 66, 1935, pp. 537-542.

12 "Revelation," in *The Authority of the Faith*, "The Madras Series," Vol. I., IMC Papers, 1939, pp. 22f.

13 Wallace C. Mervin, "A Report on Recent Developments in the case of Dr. T.C. Chao" (translated from the June 1952 issue of *Hsieh Chin*, monthly magazine of the National Christian Council of China, sent to Hong Kong by *Hsieh Chin*'s Peking correspondent, UBCHEA Arch. Yenching Corr. T.C. Chao, 1948-56, p. 2.

14 The move came after a sabbatical year during which he served as pastor of a student church at Kunming, CR, 71, 1940, p. 476.

15 Howard Boorman, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

16 *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, July 4, 1947, in Glüer, *op. cit.*, p. 208, 28.

17 Boorman, *op. cit.*, p. 148, mistakenly names Chao one of "six *vice* presidents (italics ours) and West, *op. cit.*, p. 237, makes the same

error. *Who's Who,* The First Assembly of the World Council of Churches, August 22-September 4, 1948, p. 45., gives the following information, undoubtedly furnished by Chao himself, "Chao Tsu-Chen, M.A., B.D., D.Litt., D.D., 14 February, 1888. China. Minister Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui (Anglican Church in China). Dean, School of Religion, Yenching University, Peiping, Consultant [Chao's status at the Amsterdam Assembly]. Yenching University, Peiping, China." However, this being the constituting assembly, the number of presidents changed from five to six in the course of the meeting. The World Council of Churches *Assembly News,* Number One, August 22, 1948, gave thumbnail sketches with accompanying photos of "Five Presidents," Mott, Fisher, Eidem, Germanos and Boegner [p. 4.]. Later, in presenting the Nominating Committee's final Report, the chairman, Bishop Brilioth of Sweden, announced one change and one addition to the Report which had been distributed earlier to the delegates. a) John R. Mott was now being proposed as Honorary President, and b) in response to numerous suggestions to have one president represent the Younger Churches, the chairman said, "I have the honour to nominate, on behalf of the Committee, as a *President of the Council* (italic ours), representing the Younger Churches, one of the most eminent Christian thinkers and scholars of China, Dr. T.C. Chao, Dean of the School of Religion, Yenching University, Peiping, adding his name as the sixth on the list of Presidents." (The others were Pasteur Marc Boegner, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, The Archbishop of Thyateira, Dr. S. Germanos and the Archbishop of Upsala, Dr. Erling Eidem), W.A. Visser 'T Hooft, ed., *The First Assembly of the World Council of Churches,* Vol. V., The Official Report, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949, pp. 214-217.

18 Chao's letter to the Presidents of the World Council of Churches of April 28, 1951, in the archives of the World Council in Geneva, the announcement also appeared in *New China News Agency,* Daily Bulletin, 332, July 7, 1951, in Glüer, *op. cit.,* p. 208.

19 Searle Bates, "The Outlook for Christianity in China," *Christianity and Crisis,* Vol. IX, No. 8, May 16, 1949, p. 59.

20 T.C. Chao to Y.C. and David, November 26, 1948, UBCHEA Arch. Yenching Files, T.C. Chao Corr. 1946-1948, p. 2.

21 T.C. Chao to Bishop R.O. Hall, 12 January, 1950, W.C.C. archives, cited in Glüer, *op. cit.,* p. 30.

22 Randolph Sailer to Dear Friends, Peking, China, October 2, 1949, "We get occasional hints that the general feeling in America is such as to place any favorable reports from here under suspicion, even those of T.C. Chao, who some people seem to picture as having turned opportunist and others as standing with a pistol at his head." Files of former Board of Foreign Missions, The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., cited in *China Notes,* Fall 1981, p. 183.

23 Dwight W. Edwards, *Yenching University,* pp. 433-434.

24 Wallace C. Merwin, *A Report. . .,* p. 1, cf. Part of the National Christian Council's official Report, published in *Hsieh Chin,* June 1952, in "The Three Anti-Campaign and T.C. Chao," in Documents of the Three-Self Movement, New York: NCCC, 1963, p. 70.

25 *Documents of the Three-Self Movement,* p. 71.

26 Glüer, *op. cit.,* p. 181. But note Glüer's reference to West, *op. cit.,* p. 128, should be to pages 236-37, and to note 149, p. 301), see also his "T.C. Chao and the Quest for Life and Meaning," *China Notes,* Fall 1980, p. 129.

27 As reported by Franklin J. Woo, "Another China Visit," *Chingfeng,* 1973, pp. 152-159, in Glüer, *op. cit.,* p. 276.

28 A comprehensive bibliography of Chao's works is found in Glüer, *op. cit.,* pp. 278-293.

29 S. Neill, G. Anderson and J. Goodwin, eds., *Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission,* Abingdon, 1971, pp. 21 and 636.

30 *Ministry in Context,* The Third Mandate Programme of the Theological Education Fund (1970-77), 1972, pp. 18-21, reprinted in *South East Asia Journal of Theology,* XIV, 1, 1972, p. 66, and Shoki Coe, "Theological Education – A Worldwide Perspective," in *Theological Education,* Vol. XI, No. 1, Autumn 1974, pp. 6-7, cf. also Gerald H. Anderson, Thomas F. Stransky, eds., *Mission Trends No. 3,* Third World Theologies, 1976, pp. 19-24.

31 Paul G. Hays sets 1922 as the year for "the emergence of independent Chinese Christian thought, the year of the National Christian Conference in Shanghai (meeting in the Town Hall, May 2-11, 1922, *CR,* 53, 1922, p. 418f.), of the World's Student Christian Federation in Peking and of the formation of the anti-religious movement," in "Virgin Birth in Modern Chinese Thought," *CR,* 62, 1931, p. 166.

32 Glüer, *op. cit.,* chapters V-VIII (not VII as the text indicates on p. 166).

33 "The Appeal of Christianity to the Chinese Mind," *CR,* 49, 1918, pp. 287f., and "Christianity and Confucianism," *IRM,* 17, 1928, p. 595f.

34 Cf. "The Gospel According To China," section 'Evangelism,' A Statement of the Message of Christianity to China as interpreted by Chinese, *The Outlook,* May 10, 1922, p. 71. The drafting committee was composed of T.T. Lew, S.F. Chuan, S.C. Leung, Miss Fan Yu-jung, C.Y. Cheng, and T.C. Chao, with Lew and Chao doing the basic work and the final draft, *CR,* 53, pp. 367-369.

35 Among the many references, these, "Without an indigenous leadership there can be no indigenous church, no indigenous self-support for the church, no self-government and no self-propogation," *CR,* 56, 1925, p. 500; 'The Indigenous Church,' "The Gospel According To China," *The Outlook,* May 10, 1922, pp. 69-70; "Statement of Aims of the Peking Apologetic Group," *CR,* 50, 1920, p. 637, and in "The Problem of securing college graduates for the Christian ministry," Chao asks, "Is the Church now a living part of Chinese society as a whole...is the Church going to think the thoughts and use the language of the present day?" *CR,* 51, 1920, p. 330.

36 "...a church open to all thinking Chinese...full of patriotism...cares nothing about theological controversies...although it will have its creed," in "The Indigenous Church," *CR,* 56, 1925, p. 497.

37 In an article, entitled, "What the Chinese are thinking about Christianity: The place of a Creed in modern thought and life," Alex R. Mackenzie refers to an article by T.C. Chao, "Problem of a Creed," which first appeared in the Chinese periodical "Life." In it Chao sets forth ten requirements for a sound creed and, in accordance with these, sets forth his own. Point two reveals the crucial Christological phrase, "I believe in Jesus who, through holy living and sacrificial love, *achieved* (italics ours) character and *became* (italics ours) God's Only Begotten Son," *CR,* 51, 1920, p. 769. Glüer's translation into German, presumably from the Chinese, differs from the English meaning in the verb usage, "Ich glaube an Jesus...(der) *durch die Bildung* seiner eigenen Persönlichkeit, Gottes einziger vollkommener Sohn *ist"* (italics ours), *op. cit.,* p. 46.

38 *What Do I Find Myself Believing These Days?* published by The Yenta Christian Fellowship, December 1940, p. 7., UBCHEA Arch. Yenching Corr. T.C. Chao, 1934-38, p. 7.

39 T.C. Chao to E.M. Mehrier, February 3, 1938, pp. 2-3, UBCHEA Arch. Yenching Corr., T.C. Chao, 1934-1948.

40 Cf. "Revelation," *The Authority of the Faith,* "The Madras Series," Vol. I., pp. 26f., and "Christian Faith in China's Struggle for Freedom," *CR,* 71, 1940, pp. 422-424.

41 "The Meaning of the Church," *CR,* 66, 1935, p. 583; see also his proposal for a lay-ordained ministry in "Training and Maintenance of the Christian Ministry in China," *IRM,* 37, 1948, p. 261f.

42 "Christianity and the Social Order," *CR,* 65, 1935, p. 591.

43 Cf. his article, "Christianity and the National Crisis," *CR,* 68, 1937, pp. 5-12, in which Chao makes no mention at all of Chinese religion as in any way playing a role in China's struggle and reconstruction.

44 "The Articular Word: The Problem of Communication," one of

the principal papers read during the Whitby Meeting of the IMC, July 1947, *IRM*, 36, 1947, pp. 483-484.

45 T.C. Chao to Y.C. and David, November 26, 1948, UBCHEA Arch. Yenching Files T.C. Chao, 1948-1956, p. 2.

46 T.C. Chao to E.M. McBrier, February 3, 1938, UBCHEA Arch. Yenching Corr., T.C. Chao, 1934-1938, p. 5.

47 T.C. Chao to Y.C. and David, November 26, 1948, UBCHEA Arch. Yenching Files T.C. Chao Corr. 1948-1956, p. 1., also T.C. Chao to Prof. Joseph Fletcher, January 27, 1949, UBCHEA Arch. Yenching Files T.C. Chao Corr. 1948-1956, p. 1. This letter was printed in *The Chrsitian Century* as "Days of Rejoicing in China," March 2, 1949, pp. 265-267. Seven months previously, at the Amsterdam Assembly of the WCC, Chao said, "China's culture is tottering to a complete collapse, while at the same time a mighty revolution is going on, gathering momentum and changing Chinese society with a ruthless determination...," *Assembly News*, August 25, 1948 [p. 4].

48 Chao complained that during the debate about Christianity and Science "not a single Christian participated." Later with the burning question of interpreting history in terms of Marxism, "none from the Christian churches took a share in it," in "Christian Faith in China's Struggle," *Christian Voices in China*, Chester S. Miao, ed., p. 29.

49 "Address by 'Brother' T.C. Chao," *Tien Feng*, April 16, 1956, in *Documents...*, p. 139.

50 Shortly before his death, Chao wrote that the church – and he meant the empirical church – had become irrelevant. he remained consistent in thought and action and did not revoke when freedom of religion began to be restored again in the People's Republic of China, W. Glüer, "T.C. Chao and the Quest for Life and Meaning," *China Notes*, Fall 1980, p. 129.

51 "Christian Unity," *CR*, 66, 1935, p. 217.

MORE ON "THE JEWS OF CHINA"

Dear Mr. Editor:

My friend DeWitt Barnett sent me a copy of your *China Notes* of the Spring and Summer issue of 1982. I am very interested in Rabbi Laytner's article on the Jews in China. As a keen student on this subject I travelled to Kaifeng in September 1981 for this purpose.

During my stay in Kaifeng I went to the Original Jewish settlement and the synagogue site. I also had an interview with some of the Chinese Jews in Kaifeng. Before I come to tell you my experience in Kaifeng last year, I should like to make a few observations on Rabbi Laytner's article and perhaps correct a few of the minor inaccuracies.

When the Chinese Jew, Ai Tien, met Matteo Ricci in June 1605, he had already won the degree of *Chu jen.* He was in fact a minor magistrate in Kaifeng, and he went to Peking to look for a more senior post. The Kaifeng Jews' knowledge of Matteo Ricci and his Catholic church was of course limited, so much so that they offered the rabbinate to Matteo Ricci if Father Ricci could renounce the eating of pork and undergo circumcision.

I am not aware of any reference to the appointment of a special officer "to supervise the Jews in the 9th century." What is recorded is that there were enough foreigners even in the Tang Dynasty, i.e., mainly central Asians in the Chinese empire that a special minister was appointed to supervise them. Among these foreigners of course were the Hui's and the Nestorian Christians.

Various dates of the arrival of this group in Kaifeng were given by various sources. Some said that they came during the Han Dynasty. Some stated that they came during the Zhou Dynasty, i.e., 206 B.C. During my conversation with them in Kaifeng, they stuck to the Zhou Dynasty, but the Zhou Dynasty they referred to is the Latter Zhou, i.e., A.D. 951. They claimed that most of their ancestors, who were small-time traders, came to China via the Silk Road. Among them there was a substantial number of silversmiths. Bishop White studied the gazette of Hsiang-fu-hsien to which Kaifeng belonged. He found that among the Jews in Kaifeng quite a few of them were successful in civil service examinations. There were ten *Chu-jen's*, five *Chin-shih's*, four held the *Kung-shung*, one *Tseng-kuang* and one *Pa-kung.* Rabbi Laytner referred to the Plaque Praising the Emperor, i.e., the *Wan-shui-pai,* but I am not aware of the fact that that was one of the conditions laid down by the emperor in providing the means to rebuild the synagogue. When I spoke to the Jews in Kaifeng, they stated that *Wan-shui-pai* could also be found in temples of other faiths. These are placed in the houses of worship only as a token of respect to the emperor.

During the entire period since the synagogue was built, there were contacts with other Jewish communities in other parts of China and possibly other parts in Asia. The 1512 stele distinctly referred to the assistance rendered by Jews in other parts of China, such as Yang Zhou and Ningsia. In the latest edition of Bishop White's book, the reference to the Scroll of Esther indicated that there were limited contacts with Jewish communities outside China.

Rabbi Laytner referred to the 70 Jewish families in Kaifeng originally. In fact, there were only 17. The 1489 stele contained 36 vertical lines each with 56 characters. It is understandable that 17 was mistaken for 70 in the long text. This point was pointed out by Professor Chen Yuan for quite a long while. In fact, the 17 clans were listed as follows:

Li, Yen, Ai, Kao, Mu, Zhao, Jin, Zhou, Zhang, Shi, Huang, Li, Nieh, Jin, Zhang, Tso and Bai.

Subsequently, only seven clans and eight families survived. They are:

Li, Ai, Kao, Zhao, Jin, Zhang and Shi.

Goldman's reference to the "Tiao Chin Chiao Hutung" is also inaccurate. Originally the Jewish settlement was called "Tiao Chin Hutung" but as the name is mildly derogative is was changed to "Jiao Jin Hutung" at the turn of the century.

In part II of Rabbi Laytner's article he seemed to imply that this tiny Jewish community was subject to discrimination and persecution. In fact, all the studies done by historians in the past indicated otherwise. It was the toleration of the Han Chinese and the ease to which this community could assimilate with the Hans accounted for their rapid disintegration. This can be proved by looking at other isolated Jewish communities in other parts of the world, such as Calcutta.

Response to Canon Barrington-Ward's paper. "Contextualism and Conversion"

I've never been happy with prepared responses, least of all my own, and the better the paper, the more difficult the response. I find myself either recapitulating very poorly what has already been said and better — or on the other hand, to avoid repetition simply pinning out to points of discussion which the writer had quite purposefully decided were not pertinent to his purpose.

This is a splendid paper I've been asked to react to, and like any first-rate presentation it has set my mind racing in directions not out of harmony with, but with slightly different thrusts from Canon Barrington-Ward's own stimulating conclusions.

For example, I will be long indebted to him for the vivid opening illustrations from two African novels of Ngugi as they set the stage for his subsequent analysis of the present predicament of contextualization in Christian mission.

Contextualization, the novels suggest, to me, has failed because it succeeded too well. The polarization in both of the two settings — one from the foreign mission stage, the other from the third-world church stage of mission — leaves us with a successful missionary method, but with a church as divided as the world it sets out to save. In the first novel the division is between western Christian religion mission and African traditional religion. The mission wins. It contextualizes. But as the second novel dramatically, and somewhat unfairly claims, the contextualized African church which emerges is a split personality — on the mission-church side, it is drawn into

conformity with new and often corrupting African power structures, or on the other side, ~~following~~ it follows the lure of ~~African~~ prophets whose "Africanness" is indubitable but whose integrity is too often uncertain. The African church the novelist once dreamed of is here, but it satisfies neither his dreams of an African spirituality nor the urgent needs of Africa's poor. So the suggestion is that he must begin to ~~So~~ he turning to other gods — the "people's" gods of secular Marxism.

The paper rightly warns us of the element of caricature in this picture of the African church. But To me, the startling relevance of these pen-pictures to the subject of this conference, "Conversion in Cross-Cultural Context" is a ~~the~~ conclusion never explicitly stated in the paper, ~~which will perhaps be questioned by~~ may properly caution me against Canon Barrington-Ward, as pushing ~~his~~ the thrust of his paper too far in one direction, ~~because~~ but The inference I draw from the ~~illustrations~~ African novels is this: contextualization ~~without conversion~~ in mission without conversion fails. It leads to false conformities in opposite directions; ~~one to the~~ as society in which the church seeks to relate is itself moving in different directions whereas, ~~as the Canon does state~~, as the Canon points out Christian mission must aim ~~towards~~ towards ~~the reintegration~~ the restoration of wholeness to a disintegrating world. A church which contextualizes so far into its context as to lose its text, - its identifying, healing gospel, - loses also its power to convert and re-integrate. Adaptation is not the goal, but rather integration into "the new life in Christ", and that requires conversion.

~~The passing reference to Melbourne and Pattaya was not altogether convincing. It set me to wondering which was which. But the point was unforgettable. A church which contextualizes itself so far into its context as to lose its text, loses also its power to convert and re-integrate. Adaptation is not the goal, but integration into "the new life in Christ."~~

But I am ahead of myself. Barrington-Ward continues with his own analysis of the human predicament in terms of a world-wide post-Enlightenment disintegration of the fabric of society, both east and west. I like his four-fold description of the process: a questioning of traditional world-views, a search for new foundations, a grasping for new truths in science and inductive reason as promised by the success of the new technologies, when this is followed by an awareness of an emotional vacuum, the vacuum is soon filled not with subjective reason but subjective feeling. That sounds true to experience. I have two footnotes to add. First, it is not just the old religious traditions that are falling. It is also the new secular ones. Fox Butterfield's important new book on China, Alive in the Bitter Sea, contains a breathtaking quote from a high Communist official in Peking, "Nothing still holds true.. not a single element of Marxist theory." ① This suggests that one day Ngugi will have to write another novel. And second, I have a question about the analysis of the predicament. I am not so sure that the separation of reason from feeling is the root cause or main factor in the crisis of religion in our time. It is an important part of the process of disintegration, but I do not think the canon intends to imply that it is the cause. His first intuition, is I suspect nearer the truth. Not the falling apart of reason and religious emotion in

① N.Y. - NY Times, 1982, p. 416.

~~within~~ the human being, but rather the falling of that, natural, feeling being into subjectivism - which is, in Christian terms, a falling away from God. ~~This~~ ~~would~~ Reintegration then, could not be merely a harmony of reason and emotion, but a ~~reconciliation between~~ meeting of the subjective and the objective, a reconciliation of man with God.

If ~~what~~ I follow the argument correctly with that understanding, ~~then~~ I am greatly helped by his ~~own~~ ~~description~~ description of, what he calls, on p. 3, "the three areas of post-enlightenment disintegration to which the message of God in Christ speaks" so directly, because it speaks to a ~~this~~ world which has ① separated "Heaven" from "Earth" ② separated "structure" from "community" ③

(First) ① ~~the falling apart of~~ Pulled apart "Earth" and "Heaven", the real and the ideal; our sense of history, and its "eternal" plan, if there is one. Polarized Christianity tries to ~~fill~~ the gap with rationalism and moralism; on the one hand, ~~or~~ with ~~poetry~~ ~~with~~ mysticism, on the other. Neither is really satisfied, and I agree. Folk religion ~~creates~~ uses magic to bring earth + heaven together; Islam uses force; Hinduism a sophisticated philosophy of ~~reason~~ crossing the divide by reincarnation, or recrossing it ~~with~~ back into the world with ~~promises of success~~ slick gurus promising power and success. None of them satisfy. The Gospel does - but only the whole gospel, and I agree. ~~I~~

The answer to this dissolution, ~~this~~ disintegration is what I would call "the healing wholeness of the gospel", a gospel which

~~And this is the~~
1. Separated "Heaven from Earth"
2. Separated "structure" ~~[illegible]~~ and "community"
3. Separated the "material" from the "spiritual".

Where a polarized Christianity similarly separates itself into earth-centered rationalists, or heaven-bound mystics, as Barrington-Ward intimates, it fails to mesh with the real needs of an ~~[illegible]~~ equally polarized world, and he describes convincingly the similar failures of folk-religion magic to bridge the gap; ~~and~~ of Islam to bring heaven and earth together by force, or the sometimes ~~[illegible]~~ sophisticated, sometimes gross efforts of the eastern religions to ~~[illegible]~~ spiritualize the world or to materialize heaven.

None of them satisfy, he says, and I could not agree with him more. Only ~~[illegible]~~ the Gospel can and does, satisfy; ~~he concludes, and again~~ — but only the whole gospel. This is the point I will remember — the healing Wholeness of the gospel, a gospel which "offers," as he says "the genuine possibility to people of all cultures at least the beginning of a re-integration" (p.3). ~~His title is the Biblical text~~, "In Him all things are held together".

So I ~~am~~ impressed by his analysis of the human predicament.
I am in agreement with his judgments on the world's religions; I am judged ~~even with~~ by his critique of the polarizations that cripple Christian missions.
And I am profoundly grateful for his confidence and hope in the good news of the gospel that in Christ on the cross God's mercy and God's judgment find their focus ~~meet to heal and reintegrate~~: a meeting of heaven and earth, with promise of a new community in a recreated structure, ~~and in the cross~~ the spiritual flowing thru the material across a divided world.

If I ~~had~~ were to pose questions ~~with which to close~~ leading to further discussion ~~they~~ ~~these~~ would be among them ~~these~~: —

1. I was going to ask for a clarification of the difference between the Christ-turning bond would disunity + that "There is no bypassing the cross - there is no other way but the cross"

1. In ~~his~~ the paper's emphasis on the reintegration of what has been allowed to fall apart, is ~~there~~ ~~I miss~~ a blurring of the either/or of the gospel? Re-integration suggests reunion of two good things. The Bible's view of conversion is a turning from what is evil — sin, the devil — and a turning to what is good — God. Not the reuniting of two goods, neither bad in itself.

2. I would like to see further development of the section on structure and community. I ~~am~~ remember John Mackay's lyrical contrasts of order and ardor — but are structure +

3. Is there, in ~~his~~ the ~~choice~~ selection of texts from Ephesians and Colossians, a confusion of conversion, with eschatological consummation. ~~Is the successful conversion of the individual and~~ The Bible does usually speak of conversion ~~it~~ in personal terms — not just ~~and~~ ~~as a ... a foreshadowing~~, an advance realization in part of that consummation of all things in Him, of which the two letters, Eph. + Col. speak so movingly. Conversion now ~~Or are they two very different things~~ ~~Conver~~ conversation now, and ~~consummation then two very different things~~. Connected, but different, and involving very different responses ~~d~~ by a Church in mission? Conversion now demands ~~One demands~~ mission now, ~~not for reintegration but for conversion, leading to integration into the family of God (Eph. 2:13) — the~~ the consummation can and probably will wait for the end of the age.

~~Ours is our hope of final victory in Christ,~~ ~~the~~ a unity the ~~concrete~~ form and shape ~~of which we~~ do not see, ~~we~~ and ~~cannot build~~.

(3) Closely related to ~~that~~ question is the further difficult question: what precisely is our part in ~~In stressing~~ the healing ~~universal salvific~~ and uniting will of God for the ages — that ~~a salvific that reintegration~~ "plan for the fullness of time to unite all things in him" — ~~is that a promise of God's salvific action uniting all people~~

If it is a salvific will, we do not save. If it is a building of the kingdom — we do not build it. It will be given us. If it is only a uniting — what are we uniting. Christians? Other religions? The world?

~~across all cultures, really dependent on our full and faithful witness — as~~

And does it really happen as the conclusion suggests: — ~~the conclusion suggests~~ "if we can only witness fully and faithfully";

~~Or does it rest with the inscrutable plan of God for the ages, and wait for the revelation of its dimensions to the return of the risen Lord and the "day of the Lord", the day of judgment of which Jesus and the prophets have spoken?~~

But there is no ~~evading the~~ way we can, by asking such evading questions, blunt the moving, urgent ~~these~~ call of ~~the searching lecture~~ the speaker to just such a full and faithful witness, ~~as~~ seeing in our fellowship if only in a glass darkly — the reality of the promise that indeed He does hold all things together.

— Sam Moffett
Ventnor NJ
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"IN HIM ALL THINGS HOLD TOGETHER"

THE EPHESIAN AND COLOSSIAN GOSPEL AND THE CRISIS OF FAITH IN THE WORLDS RELIGIONS

Simon Barrington-Ward

In Ngugi Wa Thiongo's novel 'Petals of Blood', set in contemporary Kenya, there is a devastating portrayal of the Church as seen through the eyes of a young African radical. He describes a group of poor spokespeople for a poor village, in one of those rural areas which suffer from extreme deprivation, by contrast with the well-to-do centre of the country. They make their pilgrimage to Nairobi to try to plead, through a sympathetic politician, for a better deal. On their way they call at the large house of a well known pastor, whose church is in a fashionable suburb, to ask for help. He turns them away with bland assurances of deep concern. A glimpse of the company at the manse reveals that he is hand in glove with a prosperous powerful clique of his own ethnic group; people who control much of the country with the connivance of the West. Later the reader is shown a very different kind of church, indigenous and pentecostal in style. Its members look entirely to their, not altogether genuine, 'prophet' - leader. And as their numbers grow they become so absorbed into this self contained, alternative world of estatic worship, visions, healing and witchcraft cleansing, that their attention is deflected from their real ills, and the wrong doing of the ruling clique already described.

This is, of course, a lurid caricature. The final pages of this not wholly convincing if powerful work reveal more and more clearly its author's marxist sympathies. The more these emerge, the more implausible the story becomes. The author has come a long way from his first brilliant study of the religious scene earlier in Kenya's history, "The River Between." Then there were the two spiritual camps on the two hills, the traditional religious elders on the one hand, mourning the broken past, and the missionaries on the other, directing with a firm hand, growth into an alien westernized future. James Ngugi, as he then called himself, described his hero Waiyaki feeling his spiritual way forward into a form that would lie between these two camps and both reconcile them and transcend them, a new African community of faith, a "river between." Now, in Ngugi's later novel that river has dried up. The would be African church has dwindled into an escapist fraud. Both it and the 'mainline' mission church have become dupes of the world. The only onward movement lies with a romanticized secularism, a materialistic utopia, reminiscent of those Stalinist and Maoist posters of the heroes of the people marching into an unreal, magically perfect, proletarian world.

Yet there is an alarming truth about his picture of the present scene. It is a truth which could be illustrated from similar portrayals of society in other parts of Africa (Wole Souinka's recent writings for instance in Nigeria), or of Asia, or indeed all over the world, within whatever crumbling framework of traditional faith you like to name. Everywhere there is the same ultimate split between a secularized world on the one hand, with its own illusory fantasies of fulfillment, and a spiritualized alternative on the other, each of which seems to fail to mesh adequately with the actual issues and problems of the complex reality. And this split is not only visibly present in the Hindu, the Islamic or the more localized African world. It also pervades the Church. The more rationalistic, institutionalized churches in their structure and style often conform largely with their secular surroundings using the world's weapons in the world's way, either conservative or radical. Whereas the movements that keep springing from a continuing quest for a recovery of the spiritual dimension, of the living springs of grace, tend to drain off into an insulated 'counterculture' of their own. I saw many signs of these two contrasting patterns at the two World Christian Conferences of 1980, in Melbourne on the one hand and Pattaya on the other.

I would like now to go back briefly to the source of this emergence of the symptoms of the human condition in our time. I put it like this because I don't

want to claim too much for one movement in the history of culture, nor for one era, even though both seem unprecedented. The term 'Enlightenment', in a sense quite different from that intended by those who first used it, was an apt title for the beginnings of our modern age. It set in motion a shift in human self understanding which was to illuminate, however bleakly and shatteringly, our real predicament. The voyages of exporation, or exploitation, and the technological and economic changes which accompanied them, prepared the way for the expansion of Europe and then of the West which was to spread its solvent acids all over the world.

The essential features of this dissolution have proved the same in an African, or Asian village, let alone city, as in the original outworking of the process in the western world. First, comes a ~~dawning~~ dawning scepticism and questioning, reinforced by a new rationalism and a strange sense of looming options, of the possibilities of other explanations and interpretations of life apart from the inherited patterns, the received framework of life. These first tremors of doubt and choice are soon accompanied by spectacular technological evidence of the truth of this new rationalism. The traditional authorities begin to look small and parochial guardians of an inevitably, if painfully disappearing world. At this point people begin to look for new sources of truth. Their understanding of the world ceases to be given, built into the framework of life and society, objective. The only instrument left for discovering the real meaning of life becomes their own inductive, subjective reason. We begin to rely less and less on external authorities, like the elders or the tradition, and come to trust more and more to the internal authority of our own mind and thought, our own choice. A sceptical rationalistic approach to life becomes increasingly powerful and central.

But then, secondly, the suppressed emotional intuitive aspect of our nature returns, with a strong resurgence. Suddenly people are offered another way of interpreting the world. This way relies not upon subjective reason, but upon subjective feeling. Individuals or groups arise with their counter claim that "the heart has reasons of which the mind knows nothing". They may be poets, mystics, prophets, leaders of spirit cults. They speak with persuasive force. ~~But they a~~ But they and those who join them are still essentially subjective.

The sources of authority and truth have shifted, irrevocably it seems, from beyond this world to within it, and from objective divinely given oracles to the subjective head and heart of mere man. And, in the process, human reason and emotion seem to fall apart. Like the world itself, man becomes increasingly disintegrated, his intellect becoming divorced from his imaginative and intuitive aspect. He loses the capacity as T. S Eliot put it, "to think his ~~feelings~~ feelings or to feel his thought." No wonder the Age of Reason, so called, was also the age of a deep undertone of emotion, of romanticism - and pietism. Indeed in European and, shaped by a very different setting, North American experience this tension remains. The conflict would seem to have been re-enacted at some stage in the life of each generation. Indeed, the process I have sketched would almost seem to be repeated in the experience of every individual, ~~like~~ as in the old notion ~~the idea~~ that every human embryo recapitulates the whole evolutionary process!

Certainly the 1960's offered a dramatic presentation in my own experience of themes familiar in the 1920's, the 1890's, and earlier periods. To spend a period in Cambridge University during the period of post war Christian neo-orthodoxy in the 50's, as I did, and then, having spent sometime experiencing cultural and social change in Nigeria, to return in the 60's to a very different Cambridge, was indeed to encounter striking parallel sequences.

Indeed it becomes clear that it is this original western sequence which has set in motion a kind of chain reaction, throughout the worlds of South America, Africa and Asia. The expansion of the West was to carry with it, along with its political, economic and technological impact, an inevitable disintegration

of the traditional framework. It was most noticeable and analysable first in the smaller-scale, localised worlds of Africa or the Pacific. Only gradually have we begun to realise how far the process which so profoundly undermined christendom, is also irreversibly shaking apart the inherited patterns of Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam.

Christian missionaries unwittingly played a part in the process. They have been themselves often deeply divided between our inner rationalism and pietism, and have inevitably affected both their converts and their more widespread contacts. Townsend, in Abeokuta with his cotton gin and his messages from Queen Victoria, Livingstone with his Buxtonian theme of "Christianity and commerce", Mackay training the young Baganda apprentices in mechanical skills, were symbols of a farreaching movement. It can be argued, as it was by Livingstone's father-in-law, Moffat, that this shake-up of all faiths and cultures is a necessary prelude to a true "metanoia". Impenetrable worlds begin to fall apart, and that disintegration confronts their inhabitants with the reality which the inherited framework served partly to hide. So they become open to the possibility of the christian gospel. But if this is true, it becomes even more essential that the gospel then presented is a full and whole gospel, offering the genuine possibility to people of all cultures of at least the beginning of a re-integration. It is this whole gospel alone which will then become a genuime message of promise and hope to people of all faiths.

I would like just to indicate briefly three areas of this post - enlightenment disintegration to which the message of God in Christ manifestly speaks when it is presented in its entirety and integrity.

First, there is the falling apart of what I will call "Earth" and "Heaven". That is to say ordinary surface life and deeper meaning, or the real and the ideal, our chaotic, inconsequential seeming human history and some kind of eternal purpose and plan. Modern technology and scientific method appear at least to put the sources of truth, and the reins of power over human destiny in our hands. Human history becomes more and more confused and uncertain, and breaks away from all the framework of meaning we have sought to impose on it. The new christian thinkers of the Enlightenment sought to detach truth from history. Men like Leibniz or Lessing tried to suggest that christian moral principles were "truths of reason" or "necessary truths" not to be derived from dubious records of mere "contingent events" like the gospels. Even those like William Law who defended the New Testament record sought to support it by an appeal to feeling and inner experience. So they came to try to bridge the newly exposed gap between 'earth' and 'heaven' with rationalism and moralism on the one hand or mysticism on the other. In doing this they were tending towards means which had always been employed by other human cultures to bridge the gap.

It could be argued that the smaller localised worlds of faith in Africa, Asia and the Pacific tended by their rituals and symbolic technology and methods of induced possession, to manipulate or conjure the earth into harmony with heaven, the real with the mythical ideal. In the face of the crisis of western intrusion, the traditional system may go into abeyance, but new cults arise seeking to cleanse out the disorder and to introduce some kind of alternative modernity, a self enclosed substitute world, with its own magical means of reintegration. Even the indigenous christian movement can easily take on this form as it offers an alternative "place to feel at home".

But there are other strategies for synthesis. In Islam, where the Prophet began his work at the point at which a localised pattern of spirit cults was already broken down in Arabia, his inspired vision becomes one of a fervent and ~~conserva~~

and constructive moralism. He attempted with his followers to impose the Divine will on human society, primarily by persuasion, but, if necessary by force of arms. Implicit in Muhammed's life and original experience there were also strains of dramatic apocalyptic expectation which later found embodiment more in Shi'a Islam, and in Mahdism, which were to become the romantic under movement to be invoked when the main project seemed to be faltering. There were also the mystical element taken up into Sufism and the various Cults of Divine possession that became part of a network of diverse spiritual societies in the later Turkish Islamic Empire.

There are aspects of all these in the divided attempt of modern Islam to grapple with western secularism, by some kind of putting back of the clock and re-imposing of an Islamic world. Even when its linked with aspects of western liberalism, of a modified capitalism or even of marxism as with Gadaafi, the whole venture remains an attempt to recreate the dream of a golden age of Islam that never, quite was, however creative and impressive its achievement.

In Hinduism and Buddhism and other derivative forms, a very different attempt is made to, as it were, spiritualise the 'earth', the world and human society, into 'heaven', absorption into the Divine Unity. A marvellous dialectic is employed between ultimate spiritual purity and the impurity of the temporal and material world order. The whole caste system ranging from the Brahman or Spiritual men to the lowest and most menial caste was an expression of this dialectic. Reincarnation was the means of progress from the lowest to the highest. The Brahman offered the means of purification of the whole in intricate complementarity with the other lesser parts. But beyond him were the renouncers, the Sunnyasis, with their opening up of sects, accessible to all through which there was offered a short cut both for individual and society to the ultimate purity. Each renouncer offered his own particular simpler method of detachment or devotion by which to break through to enlightenment or deliverance. But the accepted principle was that "the renouncer could not return". From outside he might inspire man-in-the-world. In Buddhism, one such movement, the monk was to inspire the society.

Western intrusion brought with it a dramatic reinforcement of the pull of this world. The worldly aspect of life was torn away from its spiritual moorings. The central bond would seem increasing to have worn thin or to have snapped. In this predicament, the renouncer has sought to return, and, as it were, to spiritualise the world from within. A mass of eclectic guru movements with a variety of teachings incorporating elements of other faiths have sprung up. From Gandhi or Radha Krishnan to the smallest, most bogus 'swanmi', they have attempted spiritualisations of the world. Buddhist monks have also similarly involved th themselves in material development and attempted reinterpretations of their traditions. In areas where Buddhism blended with other religions and philosophies, a myriad new cults have sprung up into being offering this worldly success and even seeking economic and political power. All these Eastern movements have mingled with the half-worlds, the mystical quests of disintegrated Westerners.

None of these strategies seem able to bring 'Heaven' and 'Earth' back into a convincing unity. They cannot adequately grapple with the complex social political and economic requirements of modernity. They all seem in some sense to evade the inevitable confusion and pain, the threat of self destruction, as well as the rich potential of the societies in which they emerge.

The other two aspects of this disintegration can be more briefly indicated.

II The first is the falling apart of 'community' and 'structure'. There has always been implicit in our human patterns of society a tension between the a attempt to allot authority and power, and thus to differentiate between levels of society, maintaining hierarchy and distinction of higher from lower, and the b attempt to realize a sense of mutual belonging, of equality and of intimate participation of every part in the whole. Structure seems essential to the continued preservation of society, as a means of conserving the gains of the

past, and of protecting you from evil. Community, the movement towards a recreation of society, seems essential to the continued development of society, as a means of creative outreach and of attainment of new goals. In most societies there would seem to be an attempt to hold these in one, linked closely to the attempt to reconcile "earth" and "heaven" just described. The quest for new community underlies the spirit cults of localised cultures, the utopian and apocalyptic movements in Islam, the creation of fresh renouncer sects with their ashrams and shared rites in Eastern religions. Yet each of these developments are in tension with traditional or more secular structures in the society. There is a constant unsatisfied quest for some kind of re-integration.

Similarly, there is the falling apart of the spiritual and the material aspects of life which is so marked a feature of modern western, African and Asian life. There is a manifest split within people and societies, between spiritual material goals and interests. Patterns of faith seem in face of response to the vastly intensified access, for some at least, to material goods and well being, to respond either by renouncing the material struggles of individuals and societies, or by identifying totally with either individual or collective attempts at the material transformation of our circumstances.

All these disintegrations, of 'Earth'and 'Heaven', of 'structure' and 'community', of 'material' and 'Spiritual' are markedly present in the christian church and mission itself. That was the point of the scene from Ngugi's novel with which I began.

But yet through a world wide movement of the Spirit, often among persecuted poor or obscure groups, in the heart of the Islamic world, say, in Communist China or behind the Iron Curtain, in the slums and poor villages of Afica, Asia and South America, a rediscovery of the Christian gospel in its fulness, is going ahead. And wherever this movement shows itself, we encounter some kind of 'family likeness', whether in AyakoMuira's Japan, among Kimbanguists in Zaire, in a Kashmir valley, a Northern Nigerian or South Indian village. There, people of other faiths seem to be drawn irresistibly to the figure of Christ, God with us, in our confused and uncertain history, bearing its ambiguities and tragic contradictions, disclosing the Divine, bridging the gap between earth and heaven. No wonder a sufist muslim commentator, Hasan Askari, has described the cross as "a sign in the realm of relationship between God and Man" for people of all faiths today. The concreteness of the gospel story and above all the passion open up a way by which, the ideal flows into and through the real, the spirit through the cross and the spiritual through the material, the emotional and intuitive through the rational. In the groupings of disciples which arise in response, there seems to be, as in the Acts and the Epistles, a fusion of structure, of distribution of gifts, of order and authority, with a sense of the 'Koinonia', of community, of the belonging together of the members of the Body. Thus also we find in the shared life of this Body, a holding together of the practical with the realities of faith, of spiritual and material.

The dynamic source of this re integration which speaks across all languages barriers, and has a magnetic force in all fields of faith, lies not in a magic, nor in a utopian ideal, not in a moral compulsion not in mystical evasion, but in a very realistic meeting together of Divine mercy - heaven andearth indeed - in a Divine forgiveness, in the fullness meaning of that term. The motivating energy therefore is a continuous repentance, and a continuous release and reaffirmation of each and all of those who respond, a 'death' and 'resurrection', issuing in the constant breaking through of death and resurrection love. This is not magic or manipulation, then. It is not moralism nor mysticism. It is the disclosure of the Divine, within this world, in a wounded man, transforming this world through a continuous meeting in him,

of heaven and earth, ideal and real, community and structure (ecclesiasemper reformanda), spiritual and material, triumphing over the demonic separations pervading this world.

This is the 'Whole Gospel' which we are being called upon and empowered to recover and to present within the world of all faiths today. It will not of course provide us with a political programme nor an alternative world. But it will ~~with~~ through Christ's healing and reintegrative compassion, empower us to tackle complex political an and social issues, with a constant sense of the relativism and imperfection of all our transitory attempts at "the art of the second best", It will enable us as we wrestle by his grace to bear "the pain of the possible". We can convey then a sense of expectancy of his coming, and a realistic hope, not by-passing this worlds frustrations but pressing on through them. This is the realistic temper and enduring motivation required to tackle the issues of our contemporary world.

I believe Evengelicals need to work out and to think through Biblically and consistently what is required of us if the gospel of a grace that reconciles earth and heaven is really to find corporate practical expression through us. What kind of 'wholistic' revival and renewal do we need to pray for and to be open to? What does it really require for christians to be fully " in" the world, fully involved, and yet not "of" it, not identified with it. At Melbourne and Pattaya I sometimes felt as if all the wrongly detached were on one side and all the wrongly identified on the other, both groups being used by the world without realising it. It was like Selden's Aphorism that in the Civil War in England "all the Scribes and Pharisees were on one side and all the Publicans and Sinners on the other"!

Yet there is plenty of evidence that the only gospel which will speak across all frontiers of faith is the gospel of Ephesians and Colossians were God's purpose for the universe, hidden through the ages, is revealed both in a crucified Person and in a cross bearing people, sinful in themselves but continuously being forgiven through that Person. In the life and witness of that people the fact is proclaimed that all things in heaven and on earth are gathered together in one through their crucified Head. In Him all things in heaven and on earth are reconciled. In Him all things are held together. (Ephesians 1:10, Colossians1:20, 1:17.) This is the godpel which will attract people out of all our broken cultures of today, if we can only witness fully and faithfully. This is the godpel which speaks directly to the crisis of faith in the world's religions. How can we more effectively live it and communicate it?

Mission in the 1980s

To Sam + Eileen — David Hudson

Lesslie Newbigin

The Editor has asked for an article on "Issues for Mission in the 1980s." I am no prophet. There is a vast area of discussion and I do not know what will appear to have been the crucial issue when we come to look back on the decade now beginning. Contemporary "trends" are—I think—unreliable guides. All I can attempt is to pick up one of the contemporary issues and suggest some of the new questions that I think need to be asked.

I take, then, the contemporary debate about "contextualization." No proof is needed for the statement that this is a live issue. The word itself, if I understand rightly, arose from the recognition that the older words such as "adaptation" and "indigenization" were misleading. The former implied that the message brought by the missionary is the *unadapted* gospel, the pure truth unadulterated by any cultural admixture. The latter tended to direct attention to the traditional elements in the receptor cultures and to seek to interpret the gospel through these, often at a time when the people concerned were in fact turning away from these traditions. The intention of the word "contextualization"—if I understand it rightly—was to point to the insertion of the gospel into the living situation of the people concerned so that it was related to the living questions that they were asking, not so much about the past as about the future.

Why has the debate about contextualization become so intense? I suppose that it is because of the recognition that the cultural dominance of the old "Christendom" can no longer be assumed. Among the peoples of Asia and Africa, recovering their confidence in their own cultures and shaking off the suffocating power that was exercised by the culture of the Western nations during and after the colonial period, Christians become aware of the extent to which the gospel has been presented in a purely Western form and seek to find their own ways of grasping it in the terms of their own cultures. Among the churches of the Western world there is a corresponding recognition of the fact that the gospel is not communicated at all unless the culture of the receptor people is taken far more seriously than it often was in the "Great Century" of missions.

All this is familiar, and in repeating it I am merely pointing to a vast jungle of complex problems—problems about hermeneutics, about communication theory, about the relation of the gospel to history, about law and gospel, and about many other things. I only want to draw attention to two points at which I think the discussion needs to take a new direction. The first is a relatively minor point, which I mention without developing; the second is the one on which I want to focus.

The first point is this. The debate about contextualization among the churches of the Third World is understandably dominated by the struggle to break free from the embrace of Western ideas. It is carried on (necessarily) by those who have themselves thoroughly mastered the Western traditions in theology, having been trained in the leading universities and seminaries of the West. The Third World theology, which has become a desirable addition to the libraries of the West, is all written in European languages and addressed to those who live and move in the world of thought that that implies. But there is also another kind of Third World theology—namely, that which is being continuously produced in the languages of the churches of the Third World—in the form of preaching, catechesis, song, story, and drama. The volume of this material is very great, but it is rarely translated into the languages of Europe. Yet it represents the real fruit of the day-by-day struggle of the Christians of these lands to interpret the gospel to their contemporaries.

My point here is that there is often very little contact between these two kinds of Third World theology. Working in different languages, they seldom meet. Yet they imperatively need each other. The first without the second can become essentially a negative protest against the Western tradition rather than a real communication of the gospel to the peoples of the Third World. The second without the first can become static and irrelevant, encapsulated within the theological categories of a former era. I am happy to note that the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society (Bangalore) has begun serious study of some of the Christian poets who have written in the Indian languages, and there may well be analagous moves in other areas of which I am unaware. It will always be extremely difficult to bring the insights of this "vernacular" Third World theology into the mainstream of the ecumenical debate, but without it that debate will be beating the air. The only way in which it can be done is by the kind of initiative that has been taken in Bangalore, and which I hope will be carried much further.

My second point is, however, the one that I wish to develop, and it is this. Western missiologists are debating with intense earnestness the questions that arise from the effort to "contextualize" the gospel in all the cultures of humankind from Peru to Papua. I do not find an effort of comparable intensity to wrestle with the question of contextualization in the contemporary culture of the West. Yet it is the West that ought to be giving missiologists their most worrying questions. It is in the West that the church appears to be continuously losing ground. It is typically the product of Western "enlightened" culture to whom the gospel appears irrelevant nonsense. Yet one does not find (at least in my limited reading) that missiologists are giving the same intense and sustained attention to the problem of finding the "dynamic equivalent" for the gospel in Western society as they are giving to that problem as it occurs in the meeting with peoples of the Third World.

Here let me confess that (inevitably) I am reflecting on my own experience. After a lifetime spent in India I now struggle with the problem of communicating the gospel in the comfortable suburb of an English city. And, from this angle, I am bound to reflect with some wry amusement on the anxiety shown by some of my missiological friends about the danger that the churches of the Third World should be led by their eagerness for contextuality into the morasses of syncretism. What is obvious

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to a returned missionary is that English Christianity is a prime example of syncretism. Christianity as practiced in most of our churches does *not* call in question the basic assumptions of the normal Englishman. Christians are *not* distinguishable as people who obviously live by different commitments from their neighbors. And I should doubt whether it is normal on the other side of the water to find that the churches are regarded as centers of "un-American activities"!

That great interpreter of the gospel to Hindus, A. G. Hogg, died too soon to learn the blessed word "contextualization," but he spent his life doing what that word intends. He summed up the essentials of the matter in the phrase "challenging relevance." The gospel must be heard as relevant. It must speak of things that are real things in the lives of the hearers. It must therefore begin by accepting their issues, using their models, and speaking their language. But relevance alone is not enough. The gospel must at the same time challenge the whole world-view of its hearers. It must cause them to question things that they have never questioned. It must bring them to the place where they hear spoken to their whole world of understanding and experience that word of grace and judgment which marks the end of one world and the beginning of another, a death and a new birth.

How can the church become the bearer of that word of grace and judgment for the Western culture with which it has lived so long in an almost total identification? That, to my mind, is the most pressing missiological issue for the next decade. For centuries the churches in the West have seen themselves as the guardians and sustainers of the culture of which they have been a part. They have not—in general—seen themselves as the bearers of God's judgment upon this culture. If they had done so, they would have learned again that "challenging relevance" means, in the end, suffering, and that suffering is the fundamental form of Christian witness (*marturia*).

From a missiological point of view, it seems to me that one of the most significant facts of the contemporary world is the fact that the churches in the USSR (Orthodox, Baptist, and Pentecostal) are not only continuing to exist but are winning converts to Christ out of a society dedicated to a totally secular and atheist view of humankind. This seems to be the only part of the Western world in which the church is not losing ground but gaining it. And it is significant that the witness of Russian Christians has been and is conformed precisely to that which the New Testament indicates as the essential form of witness—that endurance of rejection and suffering which comes from bearing witness to the truth in the face of the lie.

The Stalinist form of Marxism represents an extreme development of that view of humankind and the world which, in the period that we call (significantly) the Enlightenment, replaced the Christian view as the dominant model by which Western people undertook to understand and manage their affairs. The Enlightenment took the autonomous reason of human beings to be the bearer of their history, and therefore saw the Christian tradition as a bondage from which people had to be delivered. Looking back over the three centuries that have passed, we can see that while the churches struggle to retain their traditional hold upon Western society, they lost the struggle and retreated into the private sector where they could exist without challenging the *cultus publicus*, which rules in the world of public affairs. The traditional machinery, which had sought to impose some sort of ethical rules upon economic life, were dismantled in the name of human freedom and the era of the "free market" began, in which everyone was free to pursue one's own interests with the maximum of enterprise and the "invisible hand" would ensure that all worked for the common good. Marxism represents the revolt of the victims of this ideology while remaining within the general world-view of the Enlightenment. It has seen even a privatized religion as a threat to the perfection of humankind and has therefore forced the churches into the position where they have to choose between compromise and suffering. Insofar as they have chosen the latter, they have become places where the promised witness of the Holy Spirit is being given so powerfully as to "convict the world."

Churches under the capitalist system have not been forced to make this choice. They have been seduced into compromise. The capitalist system, placing self-interest at the center of the entire philosophy of society, is no less total a contradiction of the gospel than Marxism. But the churches of the West have accepted for so long the position of tolerated beneficiaries of the system that they have almost lost the power to question it. In the effort to be "relevant" to the "modern world," they have almost lost the power to challenge it. And the forms of Christian teaching and example that they have carried to the rest of the world have been deeply imbued with values derived not from the gospel but from the post-Enlightenment ideology of the Western world.

Now, however, we are in a new situation. Western society is showing every sign of disintegration. Its claim to be the bearer of "enlightenment" to the rest of the world is rejected with growing violence. The church has become a genuinely worldwide society in which powerful voices can and do speak the Word of God to Western Christians from standpoints in other cultures. I think that the Western churches are now challenged to a fresh and urgent examination of the relation of the gospel to Western culture. It is here that the problem of contextualization is most urgent. An enormous amount of Western theology has been occupied with the question of restating the gospel in terms of "modern thought." But this can be done in two ways. It can be done by those who take "modern thought" as providing the fundamental models and axioms into which the gospel has to be fitted. Or it can be done in a truly missionary way: standing within the tradition of Christian faith, worship, and discipleship, taking the biblical axioms and models as fundamental, it can seek to bring the word of judgment and grace to bear upon the whole world that comes to expression in "modern thought." I am not advocating a biblicist fundamentalism; fundamentalism and liberalism are twin products of Enlightenment rationalism. I am speaking about something that is known in practical experience, a kind of discipleship that is open at the same time to Western culture and to the testimony of Christians in other cultures, and which is totally committed to obedience to Jesus as he leads us along the way of the cross. It is in that kind of discipleship that the promise of the Holy Spirit is given both to convict the world and to guide the church into the truth.

The church that practices this kind of contextualization will not be a strong and "successful" church. It will be a church that is spoken against. It will be seen as a threat to the powers that rule society. But it will be a witnessing church in the fundamental meaning of that word. I hope that the great work that has been done during the last decade in exploring the meaning of contextualization in relation to non-Western cultures may, in the decade now beginning, enable us to undertake with comparable energy and seriousness the exploration of the problem of contextualization in relation to the powerful paganism of our Western world.

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Occasional Bulletin

Christian Mission in Context

Efforts to relate the Word of God to the contemporary world of humanity are as old as theology itself. But the persistent gulf between theory and praxis concerns Christian theologians in our day as never before, giving rise to a whole cluster of adjectival prefixes to the word theology: black, red, feminist, third-world, liberation, and so on.

Missiologists are characteristically in the vanguard of this concern for contextualization, because cross-cultural communication adds further dimensions of complexity to the task. Again, there is nothing new about the emphasis; it has been in the forefront of missionary thought from the first century onward. It was articulated at great length in all the conferences of the International Missionary Council from Jerusalem to Ghana, and it has been prominent ever since in meetings convened by the World Council of Churches, the Roman Catholic Church, and various evangelical mission associations. Yet the troublesome gap between intention and realization remains. Three articles in this issue of the *Occasional Bulletin* reflect several of the cultural dilemmas encountered along the road to effective Christian mission today.

Does Karl Rahner's controversial notion of the "anonymous Christian" undermine the missionary task of the Church? Robert J. Schreiter, C.PP.S., identifies the theological issues in Rahner's theory, isolates the major criticisms directed against it, and proposes an alternative approach. Schreiter's corrective demands greater cross-cultural sensitivity: "One has to grapple with the problems of translatability, contextualization, cultural universals and particulars, of literalism in the use of the Scriptures, of the differing horizons of meaning."

Focusing on Latin America as a case study, Mortimer Arias from Bolivia traces evangelization from the days of the *conquistadores* to the present crisis in both Roman Catholic and Protestant thought. Arias' plea is for "prophetic contextualization" and "costly evangelization against the status quo," something quite different from the forms of uncritical acculturation he sees as the result of some previous missionary efforts.

The vast majority of the world's Christian churches are culturally homogeneous, and there is no indication that the trend is reversing. But Donald McGavran's "homogeneous unit principle of church growth" is questioned by many people on the grounds that such churches share the blame for ethnically related social ills. If Christ has broken down the walls of partition separating peoples, is it ethically responsible to encourage church growth along culturally homogeneous lines? That is the question squarely faced in the article by C. Peter Wagner.

Good News

In the year since the Overseas Ministries Study Center took over the publication of the *Occasional Bulletin*, circulation has more than doubled. We want to double it again within the next six months. To help make this happen we have started a direct-mail promotional effort to solicit new subscriptions. If you are already a subscriber and you receive one of our promotional letters, or if you receive more than one copy of our letter, it is due to the fact that we are using a number of other mailing lists on which your name may be included. Please pass the letter on to a colleague or friend with your recommendation to subscribe.

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Contextual Evangelization in Latin America: Between Accommodation and Confrontation

Mortimer Arias

I shall attempt to describe the Latin American evangelistic experience in terms of contextualization of the Gospel. A friend of mine, an engineer by trade, reminded me a few days ago that "contextualization" belongs to the technical jargon of theologians and seminaries. True, it probably originated in the hermeneutical distinction between text and context.

I have found a parable by the late D. T. Niles very helpful in understanding the concept of contextualization: the parable of the Seed and the Flowerpot. The Gospel, according to this great Methodist preacher from Sri Lanka, is like a seed, and you have to sow it. When you sow the seed of the Gospel in Palestine, a plant that can be called Palestinian Christianity grows. When you sow it in Rome, a plant of Roman Christianity grows. You sow the Gospel in Great Britain and you get British Christianity. The seed of the Gospel is later brought to America, and a plant grows of American Christianity. Now, said Dr. Niles, when the missionaries came to our lands they brought not only the seed of the Gospel, but their own plant of Christianity, flowerpot included! So, he concluded, what we have to do is to break the flowerpot, take out the seed of the Gospel, sow it in our own cultural soil, and let our own version of Christianity grow.

This has been called *indigenization* in missionary theory, and it is what *contextualization* is all about. The fact is as old as Christianity itself, because the Gospel doesn't come in a vacuum. Already in the New Testament what we have is not a pure Gospel but a contextualized Gospel, Jewish or Hellenistic, and in distinguishable versions from Peter, Paul, or John. The New Testament record is both a *witness to* the Gospel and an *appropriation of* the Gospel. Some Latin American theologians are saying today that what we have in the New Testament is a "first reading of the Gospel" and that we have to do our own reading today from our own context, in a dynamic interaction between text and context. Rafael Avila, a Catholic lay theologian from Colombia, has put it this way: "We have to look at Latin America with the eyes of the Bible and we have to look at the Bible with the eyes of Latin America." In the same way, each generation has to appropriate and contextualize the Gospel received in the flowerpots from former generations.

When we recognize that the Gospel has to be contextualized, that evangelization has to be contextual, then our troubles begin. Contextualization may become mere accommodation, acculturation, domestication, or absorption of the Gospel as in syncretism or culture religion. The relationship between the Gospel and culture has to be dynamic and dialectic, just like the seed that grows, taking from the soil and selecting the nutritious elements that are congenial with the life of the plant, without losing its very nature. The Gospel, says Jesus, is also like leaven in the dough, like salt in the earth, like new wine. There is, then, an explosive, renewing, subversive, revolutionary power in it. This is why true contextualization also implies confrontation.

It is interesting to see how this principle is working in some of the most original theologizing being done in the Third World. Dr. Shoki Coe from Taiwan, the former director of the Theological Education Fund, is very clear on this point:

A careful distinction must be made between authentic and

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false forms of contextualization. False contextualization yields to uncritical accommodation, a form of culture faith. Authentic contextualization is always prophetic, arising always out of a genuine encounter between God's Word and his world, and moves toward the purpose of challenging and changing the situation through the rootedness in and commitment to a given historical moment.[1]

To use Shoki Coe's words, we want to ask if Latin American contextualization of the Gospel has been *prophetic contextualization*, "a genuine encounter between God's Word and his [Latin American] world, . . . challenging and changing the situation through the *rootedness in* and *commitment to* a given historical moment." And, in Kosuke Koyama's words, we will ask ourselves whether Latin American evangelization has been "easy accommodation" or "prophetic accommodation."[2]

Of course, this question has to be put to evangelization in the United States as well, or to evangelization in any other part of the world and in any given time. While I am trying to describe and interpret what has happened in Latin America, you can try to translate or to compare it with what has happened or is happening in your own country.

We shall look at our subject from a historical perspective and in a very preliminary and tentative way.

I. The Catholic Conquest: Civilizing Evangelization

The first evangelistic penetration in Latin America came with the Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century, which is considered "one of the most important events in the whole history of Christian expansion."[3] The missionaries—priests and friars of the Franciscan and Dominican orders—came on the wave of the explorers, the conquistadores, and the colonizers. Evangelization was the spiritual side of the conquest. The Spanish crown had been entrusted by the Pope with the responsibility of evangelizing the New World. (The same was true of the kingdom of Portugal in their part of the new lands.) The cross and the sword, Christ the King and the king of Spain, came together.[4] The Indians were supposed to be evangelized by persuasion and, if necessary, by force.[5] Slavery was prohibited by the Spanish crown, and the conversion and teaching of the Indians were entrusted to the colonizers by means of the "*encomiendas*," land grants for those in charge of the Indians' evangelization and education.[6] Some of the missionaries, such as Father Antonio Montesinos and Fray Bartolomé de las Casas,[7] protested against the abuses and were able to secure protective legislation for the Indians, but it was seldom observed. There were many missionaries who went to the Indians peacefully, and not a few who died as martyrs; but, in general, when the evangelizers appealed to the natives "to forsake their false gods" and to worship "the true God who is in heaven," they had all the power and superiority of the conqueror behind them. "Obedience to the great king of Spain and submission to the King of heaven were demanded as one single act."[8] This was *conquering evangelization*. And it raises the obvious question: Can the conquerors authentically and efficaciously evangelize the conquered? (Can the rich evangelize the poor? Can the whites evangelize the blacks in a situation of racial domination? Can the Anglos evangelize the Hispanics in a situation of social and economic superiority? Can suburbia evangelize the inner city?)

But it was, as well, *civilizing* and *colonizing evangelization*. The religious orders brought with them new livestock and new seeds, new techniques in agriculture and crafts, European arts and literate skills. (In the Southwest of present United States, they were more successful in transplanting culture than in transplanting the Gospel.)[9] The Jesuits made an outstanding civilizing work through the *reducciones* (Christian villages) where the natives received instruction in European mores and Catholic religion and developed new skills and industries. This civilizing task, however, implied a paternalistic attitude and in most cases the destruction of the original Indian cultures. "Spanish-ization" became synonymous with Christianization, and evangelization became colonization. (The same is true of a whole period in United States mission history, when Americanization was the content and intent of evangelization.)[10]

This conquering evangelization pretended to transplant the Spanish version of Christianity, the flowerpot included. The flowerpot involved not only Catholic dogmas, liturgy, and ethics, but also the Spanish hierarchy, the foreign priesthood, and even the Inquisition. The cultural genocide, however, would never be completely accomplished. The old Indian cultures—some of them widely developed—would prove to be resilient, and the old religion survived under the mantle of Christianity and with Christian names, such as the worship of the Mother Earth or the fertility deity in the imported worship of the Virgin Mary. This fact of cultural resistance and survival added to mass conversions and mass baptisms without Christian instruction, plus the shortage of clergy and the great distances to be traveled, would issue in a *syncretistic* type of Christianity, the worst kind of accommodation. In this way, we can say that conquering evangelization became conquered evangelization, another instance of the historical fact of the "conquered conquerors."

After the first impact of the conquest, in the following four centuries, evangelization would be reduced to *sacramentalization:* baptism as the entrance door to the church and to society, attendance at the mass and religious feasts as the main Christian activity, marriage and burial ceremonials by the Church. "Christians of the three contacts"—baptism, marriage, and funeral—were legion. Catechetical instruction, when it existed, was memoristic and moralistic.[11] But millions never had an option for a personal experience of Jesus Christ, and the Bible was both unknown and prohibited. Christ was known as the powerless, dying man on the crucifix, or the patronized baby in his mother's arms.[12] The Christ of the Gospels, the man between the manger and the cross, had not yet arrived in Latin America, except, perhaps, for a very small Christian elite. Latin America, after three centuries of evangelistic sacramentalization, remained a mission field.[13] (This is equally true of the so-called "Christian countries," or wherever Christianity is reduced to sacramentalization and discipleship is confined to church attendance or affiliation. And it is the reason I dare to say that this area is one of the most difficult mission fields in the world.)

As the Catholic bishops in Medellin recognized in 1968, "Latin American evangelization had remained incomplete,"[14] and Latin America was ripe for a new attempt at evangelization, this time by the coming of the Protestant version of the Gospel.

II. The Protestant Transplant: Missionary Evangelization

The second evangelistic penetration in Latin America came in the wave of Protestant missionaries from the Anglo-Saxon countries in the second half of the nineteenth century,[15] particularly Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian missionaries from the United States.[16]

The seed of the Gospel in its Protestant version was strongly biblical, Christocentric, ethical, and individualistic. This would become the novelty and the fertilizing value of the Protestant missions, in contrast to traditional Roman Catholicism which was biblically illiterate, centered on Mary and the saints, liturgical and superstitious, and strongly authoritarian.

But *the soil* would prove to be resistant. The Roman Catholic hierarchy would fight by all means and on any ground this "in-

tromission" of Protestantism in what was considered Roman Catholic territory. Everything would be used to stop this "foreign invasion": law and repression, social and political pressure, physical violence against persons and places or worship, even murder. Not a few of the sowers of the seed, the witnesses of the new faith, would die like grains of wheat to bring forth fruit.[17] Gradually, and painfully, the Protestant missionary evangelization was getting a foothold in this missionary field in an officially Christian land. At the beginning of this century there were barely 50,000 Protestants, mostly artisans and immigrants, less than one per thousand inhabitants.[18]

The first method used by Protestants to sow the seed of the Gospel was the *distribution of the Bible*. The pioneers in this apparently stony field were colporteurs of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and later on agents of the American Bible Society. The forerunner was James Thomson, a Scottish preacher who distributed the Bible and started Lancasterian schools, using the Bible as the textbook, with the support of the heroes of independence of the new nations.[19] Almost every Latin American nation has stories of people converted by the reading of the Bible and giving birth to new congregations. The second method was *preaching*—first by missionaries, and soon by national and lay preachers, who put the fluency and beauty of the Spanish language and the fervor of their personal conversion to Christ at the service of communicating the good news. Very often this preaching was polemic and anti–Roman Catholic, using all the biblical ammunition against that religious-social system. A third approach to evangelization was through *educational institutions*, used to educate the Protestant children in freedom, to reach the elite of the country and to motivate and train prospective Christian workers. Distribution of tracts and circulation of *Christian literature* was also a favorite instrument of evangelization until the coming of the *radio*, which become the principal medium of verbal proclamation for the Protestant groups.[20]

Of course the Protestant seed came with its *flowerpot*—denominational doctrines and church structures, liturgy and hymnology, ethics and style of life, architecture, and even clerical composition! But there were also the cultural components of the flowerpot—the world view, the ethos and the ideology of the prospering and expanding capitalistic Anglo-Saxon countries, the image of democracy, progress, education, freedom, and material development. And it was this flowerpot, and not the seed itself, that the liberal politicians, the members of the Masonic lodges, and the young Latin American elite were looking at. In the nineteenth century, the old Spanish colonialism was being replaced by the commercial and diplomatic neocolonialism of Great Britain, and later on of the United States of America. Protestantism arrived in Latin America when our countries were engaged in the "age of modernization."[21] Latin American intellectuals looked at the Anglo-Saxon world as their model and to Protestantism as a timely ally.

José Míguez Bonino, the Argentinian Methodist theologian, puts it this way:

> It hardly comes as a surprise that the men engaged in this struggle felt attracted by what they thought were the social, economic and political consequences of the religion of the Anglo-Saxon countries: Protestantism. They were not so attracted to it as a personal religion—very few became Protestants themselves. Rather they saw in it, in the first place, an ally in the struggle against clerical domination. . . . On the other hand, Protestantism (they referred mostly to Puritanism) had helped to shape the virtues needed for the modern world: freedom of judgment, reliability, a pioneering and enterprising spirit, moral seriousness. It was the religion of activity, culture and life as opposed to ritualism, idle speculation, and the next world. Under the auspices of these men, conditions were created for the introduction of Protestant missions in Latin America. . . .
>
> Democracy, freedom, moral uprightness, science, and culture: these are the goals that the new religion is supposed to serve. As one follows the evangelical congresses and the accounts of missionaries, it becomes clear that *Protestantism accepted this function*. . . .
>
> Protestantism, in terms of its historical origin, of its introduction to Latin America, and of its ethos, came into our world as the *religious accompaniment of free enterprise*, liberal, capitalistic democracy.[22]

In summary, for the Methodist theologian from Argentina, as *Catholicism* "played the role of legitimizing and sacralizing the social and economic structure implanted in America" of the "*conquest* and *colonization* in the sixteenth century," *Protestantism* "played a minor but significant role in the liberal-modernistic project" of the "*neocolonialism* in the nineteenth."[23] The intention was evangelization, but, consciously or unconsciously, Protestantism fulfilled an ideological function. In one sense, it was confrontation, prophetic accommodation, in relation to the old social order, but it became accompaniment, simple accommodation, in relation to the neocolonial modernistic society in the making. Though many of us would celebrate with gratitude the coming of the Protestant version of Christianity, which made possible for us a personal and transforming confrontation with the Gospel of Jesus Christ, we have to accept the ambiguity of the Protestant presence in our historical situation.

In the twentieth century new missions were coming in, and a flood of missionaries from the United States entered after the Second World War. Protestantism began to grow steadily, particularly after 1930. While at the time of the Panama Congress of Protestant Missions in 1916 the Protestant community was 500,000, by 1936 it had jumped to 2,400,000. And while the population has been growing by 3 percent annually, the evangelical membership has been growing by 10 percent, doubling every 10 years. In 1973, the Protestant community was estimated at over 20,000,000, between 7 and 8 percent of the total population. When we break these figures down we discover a few interesting facts. First, 65 percent of the Protestants in Latin America are in Brazil, where there is also the largest Catholic Church in the world. Second, the main-line Protestant churches, which are the oldest, represent 25 percent of the total evangelical community in all of Latin America. Third, the conservative evangelical and faith missions, with a huge deployment of missionary force (over 10,000 missionaries as compared with 750 from the main-line Protestant bodies), reach a modest 3 percent of the total Protestant membership in Latin America. Fourth, the Pentecostals, who work without foreign missionaries and without financial support from outside, constitute two-thirds of the Protestant community in Latin America.[24]

III. The Pentecostal Sprout: Indigenous Evangelization

The Pentecostal movement in Latin America was one of the "multiple centers of the worldwide explosion of Pentecostalism" at the turn of the century, but it has become "the only authentic South American form of Protestantism," according to the French sociologist Christian Lalive d'Epinay.[25] There are some Pentecostal missions (Assemblies of God and others) from the United States and Sweden, but the bulk of the movement belongs to those indigenous forms of Pentecostalism having no connection with or dependence on outside churches or mission boards. *Chilean Pentecostalism*, for instance, was a sprout of Pentecostal experience inside the Methodist Church under the leadership of missionary pastor Willis C. Hoover.[26] After the condemnation by the Methodist Annual Conference in 1910, the movement expanded to a membership of over half a million in its several branches. The

Methodist Church in Chile has since retained membership numbering only 1 percent of the Pentecostal total. In *Brazil*, a Swedish missionary founded the Assemblies of God in 1910, and in the same year an Italian member of a Presbyterian church in Chicago started the Christian Congregation of Brazil. The Assemblies of God planted churches in every state in Brazil, through the work of consecrated laymen, becoming the largest evangelical church in Latin America with a membership of 1,500,000. The Congregation of Brazil had half a million members in 1967. Manoel de Mello started with a congregation in São Paulo twenty years ago, and today his Brazil for Christ church has more members than all the historical Protestant churches together.[27]

This fantastic growth and the particularities of the movement have intrigued sociologists, missiologists, church executives, and experts from Catholic, Protestant, and secular circles. How is this phenomenon to be explained? Some give a *spiritual* reason: the free action of the Holy Spirit. Some find *anthropological* roots: people's hunger for God. Others offer a *sociological* explanation: the Pentecostal movement, in replacing the "hacienda" social pattern, responds to the need for belonging, support, and authority for those coming from the rural areas to the insecurity and anonymity of the big cities. Others find the answer in an appropriate *pastoral methodology:* lay participation, common people communicating the Good News to common people in their own situation and on their own terms; the practical training and selection of pastors through a long on-the-job process; and sound principles of self-support, self-government, and self-propagation. There are also *psychological* explanations: the freedom of expression in worship and the charismatic type of authority of leaders and pastors. Finally, the *cultural* dimension: the use of popular music and instruments, the indigenization of worship. Probably each one of these explanations has relevance, but one thing is clear: here we have an evangelistic movement thoroughly contextualized.

The question is whether this is prophetic contextualization or mere accommodation. In one sense, at the individual level, there is undoubtedly a dimension of confrontation. Individuals are called to make a break with their former style of life, to "leave the world" and "follow the Lord," to become sober and honest, to put themselves and their families in order, and to "serve the Lord," preaching and witnessing in the streets. There is a definite sense of liberation from fear, loneliness, guilt, sickness. There is, as well, a social integration at the level of the congregation. But a lack of prophetic understanding of the Gospel is apparent. The Pentecostal vision of the world is dualistic and pessimistic. Its ethics are very conventional and individualistic. There is a lack of concern for society at large, though there is concern for "the household of faith." Lalive d'Epinay, after two years of study of the Pentecostal movement in Chile, says that the Pentecostals live in a state of "social strike,"[28] a withdrawal from the world. Certainly the great challenge for the future of Pentecostalism is to find a prophetic contextualization of the Gospel.

IV. The Seasonal Vintage of Revival: Professional Evangelization

Organized revival was not a spontaneous product in Latin America as it was on the North American frontier. To be sure, it has been tried for a long time in the Latin American churches that have retained the annual or semiannual "evangelistic campaign." But it has died a natural death in many churches, and in others it is merely another instrument in the permanent task of witnessing and communicating the Gospel.

Latin America has proved to be a fertile or at least open field, however, for para-church groups from the United States such as the Billy Graham organization to experiment with interdenominational evangelistic campaigns. Crusades have been held by Billy Graham himself in Buenos Aires and São Paulo, and by some of his associates in other Latin American cities, following the same pattern of businesslike multimedia organization with interdenominational participation. Several "mini Billy Grahams" have appeared in Latin America in the last twenty years. Another type of mass evangelization, very successful in terms of mass movements, has been the campaigns of the faith healers.

The 1978 annual meeting of the American Society of Missiology will be held in conjunction with the meeting of the International Association for Mission Studies at Maryknoll Seminary in Maryknoll, New York, August 21-26, 1978. The theme of the meeting will be "Credibility and Spirituality in Mission." Details about the program have been published in *IAMS Newsletter, No. 11.* Attendance will be limited to 200 participants. For further information, write to: Dr. Frans J. Verstraelen, General Secretary of the IAMS; Department of Missiology, I.I.M.E., Boerhaavelaan 43, Leiden, Netherlands.

By far the most comprehensive and best-organized effort at professional evangelization has been Evangelism-in-Depth (EID), originated in Latin America by the creative work of Kenneth Strachan of the Latin America Mission.[29] Its aim is to mobilize the whole people of God—all Christians, all churches, all methods—for evangelization during a whole year of concerted effort and pooling of resources. ("Key 73" was a mild adaptation in the United States of this type of "saturation evangelism.")[30] It has been more effective in small countries where the evangelical community is in a minority situation, e.g., Nicaragua, Guatemala, Venezuela, Bolivia. It has not been tried in the big countries like Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico. The great values in this coordination of resources and methodologies are the mobilizing of the churches in an intentional effort for a sustained period of time, on-the-job training of laity and clergy in methods, development of national leadership, cooperation among evangelical churches, and improved public image of the evangelical community. Thousands of prayer cells, visits, tract distributions, participants in parades, and professions of faith are reported, but the results in terms of effective church growth have not been conclusive.[31]

Professional evangelization of this type stirs the congregations a bit, produces a brief public impact, and probably attracts a few people from the margins of the church. But, as Professor Rudolf Obermuller has said, the task is not "revival," because "revival" presupposes a certain knowledge of the Church and the Bible, and this is precisely what the masses do not have in Latin America![32]

What can we say of professional evangelization in terms of our inquiry? Is it prophetic contextualization? Hardly. In spite of all the modernization in terms of the media, the theology is as old-fashioned as it can be—almost a carbon copy of the mini-theology developed in the American revivals 150 years ago, docetic, individualistic, otherworldly, emotional, socially conservative, politically blind, escapist. To be prophetic you have to take the whole biblical message and history seriously. That means taking seriously the context and *people in their context*. Revivalistic preaching is the same everywhere—in New York or Nairobi, in Rio de Janeiro or Singapore—it is disincarnated, timeless, ahistorical. The advocates of Evangelism-in-Depth have tried to be

more inclusive in their appraoch and more sensitive to human needs in a given context, incorporating Good Will Caravans, for instance, as they did in Bolivia. But they have to work with and through the churches as they are, so they have to compromise on a "lowest common denominator," and this is always the fundamentalistic, conservative understanding of the Gospel and evangelization.

Efforts of the movement to obtain public sympathy and support from the government made it very unlikely that the evangelistic message would become specific about the situation in a given country. Actually, most of the Presidential Breakfasts at the conclusion of the EID programs have hosted presidents who held their people in oppression and repression. The evangelizers wouldn't dare "to mention the rope in the house of the hanged," as we say in Spanish. And the reports usually celebrate the mere fact that the president came, said a few pious words, and commended the EID program. In this way they show awareness of one context—the power of government—but not of the other context of suffering, oppression, injustices, discrimination, exploitation of the poor. They are thus alienated from the vast majority of the population to whom we are supposed to bring the Good News. The organized revival is like a rake, gathering what is on the surface and piling it up as "the seasonal vintage of revival."

V. Time of Pruning: Crisis in Traditional Evangelization

In one way or another, through sowing and planting, by raking and seasonal harvesting, by transplant or indigenous sprouting, the plant of Christianity has been unevenly growing in Latin America. But now the time of pruning has come. This is much more than metaphor in our lands—it is a painful and dramatic process in the daily life and struggle of the Christian Church. In the area of evangelization this means a crisis in the traditional approach and methodology. It is happening simultaneously in the Roman Catholic Church, in the Protestant community and, to a certain dgree, in the family of Pentecostal churches.

The Second Vatican Council and the Medellín Conference of Bishops in 1968 marked the turning point for the Roman Catholic Church. It was clear to the Latin American fathers that they had been engaged for a long time in a "pastoral" of conservation and sacramentalization rather than a "pastoral" of evangelization. They were aware that Catholic people were being baptized but going "through life without being truly converted to the Gospel, without a personal encounter with and commitment to Jesus the Savior."[33] They saw that it was time for a radical revision and a new evangelization for the masses and the elite.[34] The task was one of evangelizing the baptized, calling the Christian people "to a *fuller experience of the Gospel* and to *re-conversion* or, better, to a *permanent conversion.*" The Dominican Jordan Bishop put it this way:

> The first task of the dynamic nucleus — priests, religious and lay people—in a Latin American parish today, would be the evangelization of the practicing Catholics in the parish. . . . *Evangelization is not a matter of statistics; above all, it is a matter of Christian authenticity.*[35]

Religious syncretism is rejected as a false incarnation, but there is a clear call to the Church to incarnate itself in the life of the people in Latin America, assuming their hopes, sufferings and struggles. This incarnation would be much more than cultural contextualization; it would be an option for the poor and oppressed, as evidenced by the mushrooming of documents, movements, declarations, confrontations, and deadly struggles triggered by the Medellín Conference.[36] The Church had discovered the neighbor, the poor on the other side of the road, and had rediscovered the gospel of human liberation in the Bible. Evangelization could never be the same. It had to be humanizing, conscientizing, and liberating.[37]

A similar process has been taking place among Latin American Protestants since the early sixties.[38] The Central Conference of the Methodist Church in Latin America in 1960 called the churches to "an *incarnation* in the sufferings and hopes of the society in which they live."[39] The Latin American Evangelical Conference in 1961 called the churches and Christians to overcome the traditional spiritualistic individualism and to assume their responsibilities in the dramatic situation of the Latin American continent, marked by population explosion, malnutrition, infant mortality, illiteracy, poverty, exploitation, rising expectations, and shaken by the galvanizing effect of the Cuban Revolution. "The problem is not one of growth," said Thomas J. Ligget, a missionary of the Disciples of Christ, after reporting the amazing growth of the evangelical churches. "The problem is what are we going to do? Have we a word to say? Are we prepared for the necessary changes in the church and society? Our danger is not to be few, but not to be creative."[40] Gonzalo Castillo-Cárdenas, a Presbyterian from Colombia, told the World Conference on World Mission and Evangelism in Mexico, 1963, that the demand made of the Church is a *kenosis* and *incarnation* in the new Latin American situation.[41] "The fundamental task of Latin American Protestantism is one of conversion to the world" said Dr. José Míguez Bonino to the Student Christian Movement Congress in Cordoba, 1964, "a *growing incarnation in Latin America.*"[42] The social context had become increasingly the agenda of the Church when the Methodists met in Cochabamba, Bolivia, in 1966 for a Consultation on "Evangelization and Revolution in Latin America."[43]

In the seventies, the "new evangelical generation," particularly the leadership that had been working in the Intervarsity Movement in Latin America, was catching up and trying to respond to the challenge of prophetic contextualization.[44] Typical of this new approach is the following statement of Orlando E. Costas, the first Latin American missiologist from the Protestant ranks:

> Just as the gospel arises from within a concrete historical situation, so its communication takes place in a particular context. To evangelize one needs to understand the world of those who are to be evangelized. . . .
>
> This is precisely the tragedy of evangelism in the Latin American world. On the one hand, *the gospel has not been proclaimed in its fullness.* . . . The gospel has been separated from the kingdom, redemption from creation, salvation from history. The work of evangelism has been limited, accordingly, to the sphere of the privatistic, I-Thou relationship. Congruent with the latter is the fact that the proclamation of *the gospel has not been adequately validated by efficacious historical signs.* The church in Latin America has not shown the marks of the cross of unconditional engagement in the struggles and agonies of the suffering, oppressed majorities. To be able to fulfill its evangelistic task today, the Latin American Church needs, in consequence, not only *to recover the fullness of the gospel*, but, especially, *to authenticate its truth and power* in the life of unconditional obedience.
>
> If we, as Latin Americans, are to undertake seriously and efficaciously the evangelistic challenge which our world poses *today*, we have *to start evangelizing the church*, i.e., calling her to experience a new *conversion to the Christ who stands alongside of the oppressed and exploited.*[45]

This is the kind of message that the so-called "conservative evangelical" young leaders carried to the International Congress on World Evangelization in Lausanne, one that would make its impact on the whole congress and radically affect the content of the Lausanne Covenant.[46]

For José Míguez this process of pruning, of repentance and conversion, must take the shape of very concrete, risky, and painful options for the Protestant community. Prophetic contex-

tualization obliges Protestants to reverse the accompanying role of the "modernization project" of a former generation. Says the Dean of Studies of the Superior Institute of Evangelical Theological Studies of Buenos Aires:

> Protestantism can overcome its crisis of identy and mission only if it can *recapture the "subversive" role* it once played, but doing so from within the radically different situation in which we find ourselves today. That means it would work to overcome the very historical movement in which it previously participated. To do this it must intensify, interpret, and articulate anew the basic evangelical concepts of newness, repentance, transformation, new life, and the new man. This *reinterpretation* must be *based on the whole dimension of biblical witness*, be articulated *in relation to existing conditions* in our countries, and emphasize the necessity of internal and external liberation.[47]

Even Pentecostalism shows signs of being deeply affected by the human situation in Latin America. Juan Carlos Ortiz from Argentina, the representative of one of the charismatic renewal streams, bluntly says that there is not a "spiritual Gospel" and a "social Gospel," but just one Gospel, which includes the spiritual, the social, and the material. Ortiz is meanwhile experimenting with a community of sharing in his own growing church in Buenos Aires.[48] Manoel de Mello, the founder and leader of Brasil para Cristo, puts bread "as a priority" together with the Gospel and proclaims a Gospel that includes the denunciation of injustices. He has undertaken a multifaceted ministry for the "whole person" in his huge church in São Paulo, has joined the World Council of Churches, and attests to his conviction with a good record of arrests.[49] The limitation of this contextualization is that it is not prophetic enough. As Orlando E. Costas says:

> The individualism of the Pentecostal service shows up even where the emphasis is as communitarian as in the renewed (charismatic) worship service. Here there is a strong consciousness of the neighbor. It is evident in a preoccupation with the individual needs of the members of the community of faith, and of the visitors and near neighbors. But a concern for the structural problems of society is conspicuously absent . . . .
>
> Though it is true that the Pentecostal service reflects a strong autochotonous Protestantism, it is also true that it reflects an egocentric church . . . a church sociologically and theologically naïve, unaware of the fact that society is much more than the sum of individuals. . . . In this way it becomes one of the main agents of the *status quo* in a continent where change is not a luxury but an unavoidable necessity.[50]

Protestantism in Latin America, in trying to be faithful to the Gospel and to the Latin American person, in its evangelistic witness, oscillates between accommodation and confrontation.

VI. Prophetic Contextualization: Costly Evangelization

I want to conclude with a brief note on a new phenomenon in Latin American Christianity: the emergence of what could be called prophetic contextualization. As has been said, "The future Church historians will be puzzled in studying this period of the Church in Latin America, because, suddenly, Christians began to act out of character."[51] For centuries the Church has been the supporter of the status quo. But when Nelson Rockefeller visited Latin America and made his report to President Nixon, he pointed to the Church as one of the main forces for change in the continent.[52] Strange as it may sound, the title of a recent release from the Latin American Press is quite true to the facts: "Right-wing dictators fear Christianity more than Marxism."[53] These Christians, however, are not using *Capital* or the *Communist Manifesto*. They are using their Bible, and releasing its liberating message. Not all Christians, but a growing and decisive minority, including laywomen and laymen, young people, pastors, priests, friars, nuns, and quite a few bishops, are trying to respond prophetically to "the cry of my people"[54] as Yahweh asked Moses to respond.

In one sense we are seeing the greening of the Church in Latin America. Springtime has come and a revitalizing breeze is blowing. The Roman Catholic Church has jumped over four centuries, assuming finally the Reformation of the sixteenth century and embracing the impetus of the revolution of the twentieth century. Protestants are finally overcoming their reductionistic individualism and spiritualism, and they are gradually liberating themselves from their inherited cultural hang-ups. Pentecostalists are experimenting with a growing awareness of human needs and affirming the one Gospel, including the material and the spiritual. There is a converging thrust to recover the whole Gospel, for the whole person, and for the whole of Latin American society.[55] The Bible is being read anew in thousands of small grass-roots ("comunidades de base") in the Roman Catholic Church.[56] The common people are commenting upon it from their own situation, and letting it speak to that situation, after generations for whom it was a sealed book.[57] Christ is being met again—as he wants to be met and served—in the neighbor, in the man on the road. Christians are discovering the neighbor—individually and socially—and they are discovering that the Good News is really *"good news* to the poor" in our context. And from this discovery a new style of life, a new theology, and a new evangelization are emerging.[58]

Springtime, alas, brings not only breezes but thunderstorms, tempests, and hurricanes. There are tensions, conflic ts, and divisions within the Church. Even those who share a common commitment to the liberation of the oppressed and to the change of an inhuman and unjust society do not agree on tactics or methods. The old divisions along confessional and theological lines have receded into the background, and ew gap is separating Christians along social and ideological lines.[59]

There are also conflicts with the sectors of society resisting change, particularly the rich and the powerful, and there is resistance even from those who gather the crumbs from the banquet of life. The Church is becoming, like her Master, a sign of contradiction. As our Bolivian Thesis on Evangelization in Latin America Today says:

> The Gospel is not *neutral*. Because of its contents, its essence and its goal, evangelism is *conflictive*. It creates a conflict in the hearer, in the witness and in society. Evangelization is not identical with any party program, nor does it present the Church as an alternative power. But in announcing God's Word and in projecting its light on human history, it inevitably has political repercussions. Even if the Church does not want to be involved in politics, politics will involve the Church. Was not Jesus falsely accused, persecuted, brought to judgment, punished, condemned and executed by political authorities and on political charges? Will the servant be cleverer than his Lord? (Luke 23; John 15:18–20; Acts 19; Rev. 12; Matt. 10:16–39).
>
> Evangelism is *engagement*. We are involved in a solidarity with other men through what we do and through what we fail to do. There is in the Gospel no place for opting out. Jesus brought a dividing sword. It is impossible to serve two masters. There can be no neutrality in relation to the oppressed and the oppressor. Jesus Christ has come to liberate the oppressor and the oppressed from the sin that enslaves all

men. But the announcement of liberation cannot take the same expression for those who suffer oppression and for those who practice it (Matt. 10:34; 25:24–30; 6:24; Luke 1:52–53).

The announcement of the Gospel implies the denunciation of everything that is not in agreement with the Gospel. No evangelism is authentically evangelical if it is not at the same time prophetic. The Church cannot make compromise with any force that oppresses or dehumanizes man. It cannot name Jesus Christ if it does not name also the idols and the demons that must be cast out from the inner life of man and from the structures of society (Luke 3:1–20; 6:20–23; Matt. 23).[60]

These declarations were anticipations of what was going to happen and a description of what has been happening in the seventies in Latin America. Most of the Latin American countries are under military regimes that have adopted a line of economic development, stability at all costs, coinciding with an anticommunist, antisocialist, fascistic type of ideology. They are using all their repressive power to kill any dissension, any protest, any alternative to the official ideology, and are ready to crush the most elementary human rights. The churches in this situation have become the "voice of the voiceless," but they are paying a price for it.[61] Pastors and professors who have been engaged in refugee programs have been arrested and have disappeared. Others have been imprisoned for months on the basis of rumors and anonymous accusations. Hundreds—including priests and nuns—have been expelled or exiled. Fifteen bishops of the Catholic Church were arrested, imprisoned for twenty-four hours, and expelled from Ecuador. Monsignor Dom Helder Camara is not allowed to speak by radio, television, or the press in his country, Brazil, but there is freedom to attack him. He and other bishops who have been denouncing the injustices, tortures, and violence, and speaking for the peasants and the workers, have been accused of being communists. Dom Helder's secretary, Father Pereira Neto, was brutally assassinated and the episcopal building was machine-gunned. A para-military group in Argentina repulsed a terrorist action against a general of the army by murdering three priests and two seminarians who were moderates and had nothing to do with the terrorists' action. A priest who went to the police to accompany two women and their children presenting a complaint about their lands being invaded by the big corporations in Matto Grosso, Brazil, was killed by those police. When a guerrilla group in El Salvador executed the Minister of Foreign Affairs held in hostage, a rightist group, The White Warriors Union, assassinated Jesuit priest Alfonso Navarro Oviedo on May 12, 1977. Two months before, unidentified persons ambushed and killed Father Rutilio Grande and two campesinos who were with him. Between February and May, fifteen foreign priests, seven of them Jesuits, were expelled from El Salvador. The latest news is that the White Warriors Union, a lera-military rightist organization, has threatened to kill all the Jesuits who do not leave the country within thirty days. Father César Jerez, Jesuit Provincial, said: "We are going to continue to be faithful to our mission until we fulfill our duty or are liquidated."[62]

These are just a few examples of what is becoming a sort of pattern in Latin America. This new generation of Christians is discovering again that when faithfulness to the Gospel and to people is at stake, there is no easy prophetism. They are learning that Christian evangelization is not cheap, verbal proclamation of evangelical propaganda. The Gospel is free, but it is not cheap. Grace is free, but not cheap. Both discipleship and evangelization are costly.

But we have no right to complain. Jesus told us so. He warned us, "Beware when all men speak well of you" (Lk. 6:26). "Blessed are you when you are persecuted . . . because in this way they persecuted the prophets before you" (Matt. 5:10–12). Prophetic contextualization is always risky and costly; but it is faithful and fruitful.

In truth, in very truth I tell you,
a grain of wheat remains a solitary grain
unless it falls into the ground and dies;
but if it dies, it bears a rich harvest.
(John 12:24)

If this is so, the best still is to come.

Notes

1. Quoted in Gerald H. Anderson, ed., *Asian Voices in Christian Theology*, Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1976, p. 4. See also Rafael Avila, *Teología, Evangelización y Liberación*, Bogotá: Ed. Paulinas, 1973.
2. Gerald H. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
3. Justo González, *Historia de las Misiones*, Buenos Aires: La Aurora, 1970, p. 140.
4. See John A. Mackay, *The Other Spanish Christ*, London, SMC Press, 1932, pp. 24, 33; José Miguez Bonino et al., *Jesús ni Vencido ni Monarca Celestial*, Buenos Aires: Tierra Nueva, 1977; Jordan Bishop, "The Church in Latin America," in Edward L. Cleary, ed., *Shaping a New World: An Orientation to Latin America*, Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1971, p. 256.
5. Justo González, *op. cit.*, p. 143, n. 21.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 144f.
7. Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, *Apologética Historia de las Indias*, Madrid, 1909, and *Del Único Modo de Atraer a todos los Pueblos a la Verdadera Religión*, Mexico, 1942.
8. José Miguez Bonino, *Doing Theology in a Revolutionary Situation*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975, p. 5.
9. Mortimer Arias, "El Papel de la Iglesia en la Comunidad Mejico-Americana del Sudoeste," mimeographed, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist Univ., Dallas Tex., 1976, p. 6.
10. See Walter Vernon, *Some Thoughts on the Historic Methodist Mission to Mexican Americans*, Dallas, Tex.: Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist Univ., February 1975, pp. 11ff; R. Douglas Brackenridge and Francisco O. García-Treto, *Iglesia Presbiteriana*, San Antonio, Tex.: Trinity Univ. Press, 1974, pp. 127ff., 143. A good example of the Americanization ideology in evangelism in Bishop Warren A. Candler's *Great Revivals and the Great Republic*, 1904. For "Spanishization" see González, *op. cit.*, pp. 151, 159.
11. Bishop Samuel Ruiz G., exposing the position of the Medellín Episcopal Conference, "La Iglesia y el Problema Indígena," in *Religiosidad Popular*, ed. by Equipo Seladoc, Salamanca: Sígueme, 1976, p. 65.
12. Mackay, *op. cit.*
13. This was disputed before but not after Medellín. See n. 14. Enrique Dussel, *Sintesis para una Historia de la Iglesia en América Latina*, Barcelona, 1967, pp. 159ff.
14. Consejo Episcopal Latinoaméricano (CELAM), *La Iglesia en la Actual Transformación de América Latina a la luz del Concilio* (2a. Conf. Gral.), 2 vols., Bogotá: CELAM, 1967. Cf. Orlando Costas, *Theology of the Crossroads in Contemporary Latin America*, Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1976, pp. 69–72; José Comblin refers to "a World Still Unenvangelized, a Young Continent Remaining Un-Christianized." See his "Medellín: Problemas de Interpretación," in *PASOS*, No. 64 (20 de agosto de 1973), p. 3 (quoted by Orlando E. Costas, *op. cit.*, p. 72, n. 53).
15. There were immigrant churches from Germany, Great Britain, Holland, etc. They were there not to evangelize but to preserve their faith in a Catholic land. Cf. González, *op. cit.*, ch. 9.
16. José Míguez Bonino, "The Political Attitude of Protestants in

Latin America," tr. by James and Margaret Goff, in *Noticiero de Fe*, Buenos Aires, XXXVII, W. 9, July 1972, p. 2: "It was this Protestantism—anti-clerical, liberal-capitalist (the sectarian and the American heritages), which came to our countries in the second half of the last century with Baptist, Methodist and other missions."

17. There are Protestant martyrs in almost every Latin American country. In Bolivia there are 17, the last 8 (including a Canadian Baptist missionary, a national pastor, and six Indian believers) were killed in 1949. In Colombia, during "The Violence" of 1948–1958, there were 1,869 recorded cases of violence against Protestant persons on religious grounds (649 arrested, 38 tortured, 22 put to forced labor, 493 injured, 126 murdered, 423 families forced to flee because of persecution). James Goff, *Protestant Persecution in Colombia, 1948–1958*, Cuernavaca, Mexico: CIDOC, 1965.
18. P. Damboriena, *El Protestantismo en América Latina*, 2 vols., Friburgo, 1962.
19. See González, *op. cit.*, pp. 333ff. There are two classic biographies of colporteurs in Spanish: Claudio Celada, *Francisco Penzzotti, un Apóstol Contemporáneo*; Andrés Milne, *Del Cabo de Hornos a Quito con la Biblia*, Buenos Aires: La Aurora.
20. In 1964 there were 23 Protestant broadcasting stations in Latin America, 18 in Spanish, 1 in English, and 4 in Portuguese, besides thousands of programs from commercial stations in every country (DIA, Monthly Summary, May-June 1964).
21. José Miguez Bonino, *Doing Theology in a Revolutionary Situation*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975, p. 8.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 10–12, emphasis added.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 7, 12.
24. See William R. Read, Victor M. Monterroso, and Harmon A. Johnson, *Latin American Church Growth*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1969, pp. 33–60. Also W. Richey Hogg, "The Church in Latin America: An Introductory Overview," paper given at the Forum on Latin American Christianity, Perkins School of Theology, March 1, 1973.
25. Christian Lalive d'Epinay, *Haven of the Masses*, London: Lutterworth Press, 1969, pp. 7, 139f., 223. Spanish edition, *El Refugio de las Masas*, Santiago de Chile: Editorial del Pacífico, 1968, pp. 37, 175, 273.
26. See d'Epinay, *op. cit.*, ch. 1, and González, *op. cit.*, pp. 355ff.
27. Read et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 65ff., 101ff., 313ff. See also Walter Hollenweger, *El Pentecostalismo*, Buenos Aires: La Aurora, 1976, chs. 8–10.
28. d'Epinay, *op. cit.*, pp. 128ff. Cf. Emilio Willems, *Followers of the New Faith*, Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt Univ. Press, 1967, pp. 163ff., and C. Peter Wagner, *Look Out! The Pentecostals Are Coming*, Carol Stream, Ill.: Creation House, 1973.
29. See W. Dayton Roberts, *Revolution in Evangelism*, Chicago: Moody Press, 1967; Ray S. Rosales, *The Evangelism-In-Depth Program of the Latin America Mission*, Cuernavaca, Mexico: CIDOC, Sondeos No. 21, April 1966; Wilton M. Nelson, "Panorama Histórico de la Evangelización," in Orlando E. Costas, ed., *Hacia una Teología de la Evangelización*, Buenos Aires: La Aurora, 1973. See a reappraisal of Evangelism-in-Depth by Orlando E. Costas, "La Evangelización en los Años Setenta: La Búsqueda de Totalidad," mimeographed, San José, Costa Rica, CELEP, 3–7 Julio, 1977; also J.D. Douglas, ed., *Let the Earth Hear His voice*, Minneapolis, Minn.: World Wide Pub., 1975, pp. 675ff., 211ff.
30. A brief introduction to "Key 73" is in Harold K. Bales, ed., *Bridges to the World*, Nashville, Tenn.: Tidings, 1971, article by Ted Raedeke. For a critical evaluation see: Deane A. Kemper, "Another Look at Key 73," in *Mission Trends No. 2*, Gerald H. Anderson and Thomas F. Stransky, eds., New York: Paulist Press, and Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1975, pp. 126-135.
31. See George W. Peters, *Saturation Evangelism*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1970, pp. 72ff., and C. Peter Wagner, *Frontiers in Missionary Strategy*, Chicago: Moody Press, 1971.
32. Rudolf Obermuller, *Evangelism in Latin America*, London: Lutterworth Press, 1957.
33. CELAM, *The Church in the Light of the Council*, Documents I, Bogotá, 1970; Seladoc, *Religiosidad Popular*, Salamanca: Sígueme, 1976, pp. 15ff., 21ff., 26ff.; Orlando E. Costas, *Theology of the Crossroads in Contemporary Latin America*, Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1976, p. 346.
34. CELAM, *op. cit.*, Documents I, Conclusions II.
35. Jordan Bishop, "The Formation of Evangelizing Communities," *Orientation Course on Latin America*, La Paz, Bolivia: Ibeas, 1968, p. 347, emphasis added.
36. Ronaldo Muñoz, in his *Nueva Conciencia de la Iglesia en América Latina*, Salamanca: Sígueme, 1974, analyzes 169 different documents from the year 1969 only.
37. This is the way we define evangelization in our "Bolivian Thesis on Evangelization in Latin America Today," *A Monthly Letter About Evangelism*, Geneva: WCC/CWME, No. 2, February 1975.
38. The Church and Society movement gained momentum in the sixties and was one of the catalytic agents in sensitizing the social conscience among Protestants. For a review and evaluation of the movement see Orlando E. Costas, *Theology of the Crossroads in Contemporary Latin America*, ch. 9. The ISAL (Iglesia y Sociedad en América Latina) consultation at El Tabo, Chile, in 1965, was the turning point. See the report and interpretation of that event in *América Hoy*, Montevideo: ISAL, 1966. A critical analysis of ISAL is "Iglesia y Sociedad en América Latina" by C. René Padilla in the volume he edited, *Fe Cristiana y Latinoamérica Hoy*, Buenos Aires: Ediciones Certeza, 1974, pp. 121–153. Other documents of this process: *América Latina: Movilización Popular y Fe Cristiana*, Montevideo: ISAL, 1971, and the collection of the magazine *Cristianismo y Sociedad*, Montevideo and Buenos Aires: Tierra Nueva.
39. "La Iglesia y el Mundo Latinoaméricano," message from the tenth Central Conference of the Methodist Church in Lima, Peru, August 1960.
40. Thomas J. Liggett, "La Situación Actual de la Obra Evangélica en América Latina," second Conferencia Evangélica Latinoaméricana Huampani, Peru, 1961. See *Cristo la Esperanza para América Latina*, Buenos Aires: Conf. Evangélica del Rio de la Plata, 1962.
41. Gonzalo Castillo Cárdenas, "El Cristianismo Evangélico en América Latina," CWME, Mexico, December 1963, mimeographed, p. 3.
42. José Miguez Bonino, "Corrientes del Pensamiento del Protestantismo en América Latina," Cordoba, Argentina: *MEC*, July 1964, S/10/7.
43. Mortimer Arias, ed., *Evangelización y Revolución en América Latina*, Montevideo, 1969, p. 17.
44. See Samuel Escobar, "La Responsabilidad Social de la Iglesia," in CLADE, *Acción en Cristo para un Continente en Crisis*, San José, Costa Rica: Ed. Caribe, 1970; Victor Araya G., "Tensiones Histórico-Teológicas en la Evangelización," in O. E. Costas, *Hacia una Teología de la Evangelización*, Buenos Aires: La Aurora, pp. 177ff.; Rubén Lores, "Secularización y Evangelización en el Contexto Latinoamericano," in *ibid.*, pp. 235ff. C. René Padilla, ed., *Fe Cristiana y Latinoamérica Hoy*; C. René Padilla, ed., *El Reino de Dios y América Latina*, Casa Bautista de Publicaciones n. p., 1975.
45. Orlando E. Costas, "Evangelism in Latin American Context," in *Occasional Essays*, San José, Costa Rica: CELEP, IV, No. 1–2, January 1977, t . 12ff., emphasis added.
46. See C. René Padilla, "Evangelism and the World"; Samuel Escobar, "Evangelism and Man's Search for Freedom, Justice and Fulfillment," "The Lausanne Covenant" and "Response to Lausanne," in J. D. Douglas, ed., *Let the Earth Hear His Voice*, Minneapolis, Minn.: World Wide Pub., 1975, pp. 3ff., 116ff., 303ff., 1294ff.
47. José Miguez Bonino, "The Political Attitude of Protestants in Latin America," tr. by James and Margaret Goff, from *Noticiero de Fe*, July 1972, p. 2, emphasis added.
48. Juan Carlos Ortiz, "Iglesia y Sociedad" in C. René Padilla, *Fe Cristiana y Latinoamérica Hoy*, pp. 185ff. See also J.C. Ortiz,

Call to Discipleship, Plainfield, N.J.: Logos International, 1975.
49. Roberto Barboza, "The Gospel with Bread: An Interview with Brazilian Pentecostalist Manoel de Mello," in *Mission Trends No. 2*, Gerald H. Anderson and Thomas F. Stransky, eds., New York: Paulist Press, and Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1975, pp. 145–154.
50. Orlando E. Costas, "The Reality of the Latin American Church," in C. René Padilla, ed., *Fe Cristiana y Latinoamérica Hoy*, pp. 57, 66.
51. José Miguez Bonino, "The Present Crisis in Mission" in *Mission Trneds No. 1*, Gerald H. Anderson and Thomas F. Stransky, eds., New York: Paulist Press and Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1974, p. 45.
52. "Informe Rockefeller," BuenooAires: Tierra Nueva. The famous report was presented to President Nixon in August 1969.
53. *Latin America Press*, Vol. 9, No. 26, June 30, 1977, p. 1.
54. "I Have Heard the Cry of My People," a message from the Bishops of Northeastern Brazil, May 6, 1973.
55. Orlando E. Coastas, "La Evangelización en los Setenta: La Búsqueda de Totalidad"; C. René Padilla, *Fe Cristiana y Latinoamérica Hoy*, ch. 2.
56. Jetter Pereira Ramalho, "Algunas Notas sobre dos Perspectivas de Pastoral Popular: la de las Comunidades Eclesiásticas de Base y la de los Grupos Evangélicos Pentecostales," *Cristianismo y Sociedad*, Buenos Aires: Tierra Nueva, No. 51, 1977, 1a. entrega.
57. Ernesto Cardenal, *The Gospel in Solentiname*, Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1976.
58. Gustavo Gutierrez, "Praxis de Liberación y Fe Cristiana," *Cristianismo y Sociedad*, 40/41, 1973, 2a. y 3a. entregas, pp. 110–136.
59. See Orlando E. Costas, *Theology of the Crossroads in Contemporary Latin America*, pp. 102ff.
60. Mortimer Arias, "Tesis Boliviana" (Tesis 18–20), see *A Monthly Letter About Evangelism*, Geneva: WCC/CWME, No. 2, February 1975.
61. See monthly reports in *Latin America Press*, Lima, Peru: NACLA.
62. *Latin America Press*, Vol. 9, No. 26, June 30, 1977.

Book Reviews

American Missions in Bicentennial Perspective.

Edited by R. Pierce Beaver. South Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library. Pp. viii, 438. Paperback $8.95.

This is a collection of eleven papers presented at the fourth annual meeting of the American Society of Missiology, together with brief responses to some of them. Symposia are often uneven; this one, prepared from author-edited and author-prepared camera-ready typescript, is more so than most. The papers do focus on the theme of American missions, but they vary greatly in approach, quality, and length. Without overall editing of the final typescripts, certain errors were not eliminated and repetitions could not be avoided. There is no index.

Yet this may well be one of the most important books in the field of religion to arise out of the bicentennial celebration. It gives the reader a broad cross section of current historical and theological thinking about North American missions, Protestant and Catholic. Each of the longer papers makes an impressive contribution; just to list them gives some impression of the range of materials in the book: "A History of Foreign Mission Theory in America" by Charles W. Forman, "Mission and Modernization: A Preliminary Critical Analysis of Contemporary Understandings of Mission from a 'Radical Evangelical' Perspective" by Stephen C. Knapp, "The Churches and the Indians: Consequences of 350 Years of Missions" by R. Pierce Beaver, and "The Role of American Protestantism in World Mission" by W. Richey Hogg. Shorter papers deal with the missionary situation in the Revolutionary era (Charles L. Chaney), with the cultural factors in the American Protestant missionary enterprise (Henry Warner Bowden), two with American Roman Catholic Missions (Tim Ryan, Simon E. Smith, S.J.), with conciliar Protestant concepts of mission (J. Walter Cason), with black Christianity (Emmanuel L. McCall), and with cultural adaptation in American church action (the presidential address by Louis J . Luzbetak, S.V.D.).

A number of overall impressions emerge from the volume. The extent and importance, as well as the limitations, of Indian and home missions are emphasized in a number of ways. Without the building of the home base, the great sweep of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century foreign missions would not have been possible. The long-range shifts from paternalism and imperialism to partnership and mutuality in much mission thought and action are glimpsed from various angles, as are the trends from the repudiation of other religions to the appreciation of and dialogue with them. There is awareness of the long entanglement of missions with ethnocentrism and racism; the note of repentance is sounded in a number of papers, along with hints of how mission in the future can be freer of such flaws. The presidential address traces a growth from "ethnocentrism" through "incipient adaptation" to "incarnational adaptation." The recent upsurge of conservative evangelical missions is noted.

In the notes and bibliographies of the papers there is a wealth of information on the historical and contemporary literature of mission. To put such a wealth of material before the reader at relatively low cost would seem to justify the production of this book from camera-ready copy; while it does not have the polish of a carefully printed work, it is a landmark in the development of missiology in America.

—Robert T. Handy

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